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CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

LETTERS

2 OPENING HOTEL/PASSAGE

3.3 COLUMN: FUSED SILICON

In search of the real Bill Clinton.

13: CANCELED

Kim Campbell takes steps to distance herself from the Mulenney legacy

14 COVER

4 WORLD

35 JUNE 1994

Northern Telecom faces
significant changes and
market uncertainties

38 BUSINESS WATCH: ENTRE C

MTWMAN He entered the
embarks on a precedent-setting
venture in North Vancouver

50 SPECIAL REPORT

54 SCIENCE

Canadian scientists are leaders in a diverse field: robotics.

SEE SPORTS

Soft-spoken John Olrad swings a big stick for the Blue Jays, baseball hooks have made W. P. Kinsella a literary all-star.

62 SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

TRINT

53 PDCP

CITIES
Gambling opponents are
fighting their way in Milwaukee

Further, the authors note that the results of the study suggest that the use of a single, standardized, and validated instrument to measure the same construct across different studies may be more reliable than the use of multiple, non-standardized, and non-validated instruments to measure the same construct across different studies.

TELEVISION

A multi-series nested

FOTHERINGHAM

So long, solidarity

14 Since its birth, the New Democratic Party has sought for expanded social programs, public ownership and increased worker rights. But in the three provinces where the party holds power, NDP governments have turned their backs on many of the old social democratic ideals as they grapple with crippling deficits and public calls for leaner government. That, and the fact that the federal party stands at nine per cent in the polls, has left NDP stewards across the country feeling dejected and demoralized.



Assignment in Sicily

50 Fifty years ago, on July 18, 1943, Canadian soldiers engaged the Nazi-Fascist enemy in their first major offensive of the Second World War—the invasion of Sicily, a strategic turning point. Maclean's recalls that event by reprinting its first report from the Sicilian front that summer, by broadcaster Peter Sturgeson.



NAFTA at risk

30 A U.S. court ruled that Washington must complete a full environmental assessment of the impact of the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Despite President Clinton's vow to appeal the decision and support the deal, the judgment could delay approval of NAFTA by Congress. It has also rekindled the debate over nontrade barriers on the eve of the G-7 global trade summit in Tokyo.



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AN AMERICAN VIEW



Trying to capture the real Bill Clinton

BY FRED BRUNING

Now, just a second Bill Clinton is 1) an unfocused amateur with no chance to run the country, or 2) a clown who simply needed a little extra time to warm up. Added to instant replay, micro analysis, poll results and talk show liposuction, the American public is becoming back and forth on the question of Oval Office eligibility. One day, the President is dapper and sophisticated—in Elvis impersonator who should have stayed in Arkansas. The next, Clinton is mediocre and wise, very much the far-sighted and sophisticated New South aspirant we expected him to be.

What is it about Americans that makes us so crazy for confusion? Why do we have to know what to believe before we believe it? How come we so readily accept the latest opinion survey, the weekly testimonials of semantic messiahs, the truth according to Ross Perot? Clinton's a good? Yeah, he'll elect him in the first place! Whoopee. The New York Times says Clinton suffers in demonstrating "unconventional?" Well, of course, we know he would come around.

Even Times columnist William Safire complained of whiplash and whoriness. "Can't we get off this symbolic roller-coaster and try something more on the inside?" asked Safire after his newspaper declared that Clinton was beyond redemption, as so recently we feared. The answer is apparent, Mr. Safire: We ride the symbolic Cyclone because we yearn for the thrill of it—lights and fireworks, twists and turns, upside and down, failure and success. Could he tell Clinton in something of a speed break launch? Is this the man who did everything wrong, until he started doing everything right? Why, the other day he boomed Bushido! What comes next as anybody guesses.

No doubt the nation is still mired in its insatiable White House performance, its hourly-hour basis, but Clinton does himself

People are wary of a President who struggles for the common touch, but springs for haircuts that cost more than tickets to Miss Saigon

few favors. He changes direction like a wind sock and reacts too often in the Republican right. He struggles for the common touch, but people are suspicious. Why wouldn't he when the campaign-traveling jets around Washington take every other self-absorbed oval service gaggle and springs for haircuts that cost more than tickets to Miss Saigon?

The latter episode was especially irritating. Still to be adequately exploited is why Clinton submitted to a \$250 trim by stylist Craigstyle while Air Force One sat on the runway in Los Angeles. Other planes were reportedly held up, and, by ordinary standards, so was the President. Two hundred and fifty bucks? Most styles could support a year of first-class meetings for that level of money. It's no change to jet set style at LAX. It's neither to operate like a model for GQ. And we thought that Clinton was a humble boyhood.

No we didn't. He was always more than that—always Bill the Ambitious, Bill the Shrewd. He was always Bill Clinton Who Wanted to be President. Clinton knew the right moves, and even when he stumbled, never abandoned hope. What ever it took, he was going to Washington. Shall we review?

William Jefferson Clinton burst on the national scene during the 1988 Democratic National Convention, which, as governor of Arkansas, he delivered a speech that landed on the surface like a dose of Nyquil, dull but unfocused, Clinton did everything but turn out the lights. At that moment, Clinton's prospects for achieving high office seemed on a par with those of Sirhan Sirhan or Pussycat Henrich.

Somewhere, Clinton survived the moment and, four years later, stood before his party again—this time as nominee? The Democrats are great for the sort of thing. The party's talent pool has a little depth that can be tapped in relation to Clinton. Give them the chance, the Democrats would elect Eugene McCarthy. Gary Hart could be back, wait and see. Anything is possible. So here we had Clinton, who rarely knocked his audience dead in 1988, accepting victory cheers at the next convention. His speech was neither content in poetic delivery, but who was going to criticize? Bill Clinton was on his way to the White House.

During the campaign, Clinton promised all sorts of things. He was going to let gays in the military. He was going to let the Marines head in Florida. He was going to reduce taxes and cut spending. He was going to be strong and decisive and true to the ideals of public service symbolized by his hero, John F. Kennedy. Clinton was only around the corner.

And yet those who had followed Clinton's career in Arkansas said keep your eye on old Tubbs. He may not be 175 after all. It was good advice. Once in the White House, Clinton demonstrated a couple of colossal misstatements and stilled as gay soldiers. Budget cuts were less than promised, prepared tax increases higher. He abandoned support for a minimum wage boost and said no to the Haitians when, behind the new American President at last we heard, thousands of impoverished islanders prepared to cast off for Miami.

Clinton advanced the same old college friend Les Guter for the custom tax oval right job, only to push him from consideration when haircuts proved. Best of the President? Heaped his communications director, the daffodil George Stephanopoulos, and replaced him with whom?—with David Gergen, who served at U.S. News and World Report, an officer as propagandist in the Nixon, Ford and Reagan administrations.

Anyone supposed that Clinton could reverse field with such alacrity hadn't been paying attention. Early in his career, Clinton opposed the death penalty. When Arkansas politics demanded, he switched to the pro-death side. During last year's primary campaign, candidate Clinton (he's back!) took to Little Rock for the election of Rudy Ray Lister, a convicted murderer of questionable mental competence. Clinton would not entertain but marine clemency appeals. If a Democrat were to gain the nomination in 1992 and stand a chance of beating George Bush, he would have to be caught on crime. Clinton was the man to lead the nation's Secretaries of pigs to help your ground.

SHAPING AN IMAGE

KIM CAMPBELL SEEKS TO SHAKE OFF THE SHADOWS OF BRIAN MULRONEY'S YEARS OF UNPOPULARITY

Kicking off her first full week in power, Prime Minister Kim Campbell announced three Conservative strategies to her devoted Ottawa apartment. As they strolled past the Galtier columns framing the entrance to the building, the three Tories were expected to discuss the preferred timing for a general election. But the new leader had other matters on her mind. Over breakfast, Campbell announced that she planned to celebrate Canada Day by crossing the country, beginning with a sunrise ceremony in St. John's and tracking west by evening Japanese drum concert in her Vancouver riding. Next, she explained how she hoped to distance herself from the unpopular legacy of her predecessor Brian Mulroney. The most important element in her strategy was to delay calling an election until voters become better acquainted with her personal style. Later, Campbell delivered a 40-minute speech to the Tory caucus that was marked by the same emphatic resolve to set her own course. Said one senior Tory: "She'll listen to ideas, but she has her own mind on how to run this show."

Campbell's domestic challenges are matched by a similar desire to make an early impact on the international stage. Canadian and foreign analysts alike are edged in advance of this week's G-7 summit in Tokyo that the Prime Minister must use her G-7 debut to prove that she is more than a political novelty leading a transitional government. The task is not without merit. At home, Campbell is heavily prone to the need to broaden her appeal beyond Mulroney's team and her own managed portfolio of familiar faces. At the same time, in Tokyo, the 40-year-old Prime Minister will be under pressure to live up to Mulroney's reputation as an experienced player in global circles. Said Peter Martin, director of Canadian studies at the University of Miami: "Her international profile is slinky and very much a candidate." Added Martin: "She is a fresh face to the process, but in this crowd that only yields to the first the minute."

In fact, Campbell will be fortunate if she is welcomed in Tokyo at all. The leaders of each of the world's seven most powerful democracies are beset with domestic problems. The current host, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, lost a nonconfidence vote on June 10 and faces an election on July 18 that could end nearly two decades of Lib-



Campbell arriving on Canada Day in Maui. Quei plans to soothe the Prime Minister's post-convention jitters among the public.

eral Democratic rule. Meanwhile, skyrocketing unemployment in Europe has led to a government in Britain, France, Italy and Germany. And Campbell's fellow G-7 member, the United States President Bill Clinton—has suffered a succession of embarrassing setbacks, including a United States District court ruling last week that threatened to kill the North American Free Trade Agreement (page 50). Against that chaotic backdrop, analysts predict few substantive accomplishments in Tokyo on such issues as the liberalization of world trade and the continuing turmoil in Bosnia and Somalia.

Even so, Campbell's performance in Tokyo will be closely watched for clues to her view of Canada's international role. "The G-7 represents the seven major economies of the world, and we are at its margin," said Martin Dauter, international affairs specialist at Carleton University in Ottawa. "There is some question now as to whether in fact we properly belong in the club." The renewal of Canadian partici-

keeping troops from Cyprus last month—was seen by Campbell during her five-month tenure in the defence portfolio—will only magnify that debate. Campbell, a staunch supporter of Ottawa's \$5.8-billion, 13-year purchase of anti-aircraft helicopters, also faces intense pressure from fellow Tories to walk down—or at least postpone—the acquisition in keeping with the commitment she made during the leadership race to eliminate the federal deficit within five years.

Perhaps more pressing than the uncertain

election. Said Rae: "To deal with that problem is going to take more than 12 months over now."

The spite with Ontario poses problems that the federal Tories are anxious, for partisan reasons, to resolve quickly. Indeed, aides predicted that Campbell will likely try to ban the vote a court by offering to wait him anywhere—including at his home in the Kitchener Lakes district south of Ottawa—after the current ends on July 9. Such a gesture would be more than a mere

olive branch. The federal Tories are hoping for a boost in popularity among Ontario voters in the coming months in order to stem the flow of disaffected Tory supporters towards the federal Liberals.

Said Michael Doolan, a member of the Tory election readiness committee: "In order to form a government, she needs a massive majority in Quebec and Alberta, with 40 seats in Ontario. Unfortunately for us, the weakness of the new transition into a Liberal strength."

The Tories spent much of last week feverishly over their possible loss strategy. A three-hour cabinet meeting on Wednesday focused mainly on external party oil results. But senior Tories said that Campbell vowed plans to drop the election vote as early as last Tuesday—the first day on the Tories' list of options. Instead, they plan to wait while she builds a reputation. Said Tory pollster Allan Genge, president of Decima Research: "People have come from, 'Who is this lady? I hear she's not very good'—one week before the leadership convention. So she's better than anyone will give her." But all of that confusion one each day. "You can't go from one confusion to the other in three weeks."

Under a plan that will be led by Tory back room boss Jack Campbell will try to sustain her popularity by focusing on her record in her first operations as the premier. She is expected to establish her in the public mind as Prime Minister. Having laid her bet on her close to their new leader, the Tories are gambling that she will be able to deliver the performance of her career.

E. KATE PULLEN with GLEN ALLAN in Ottawa

Canada Notes

RECALLING THE SENATE

Despite public and political pressure, the 10-member Senate agreed to recommend only 10 amendments to the \$5,000 increase in their five-year expense allowances that they voted themselves on June 23. The senators, who already receive a salary of \$64,800 and \$10,400 in travel expenses, had voted by a 6-4 margin—with eight abstentions—in favor of the 58-per-cent allowance increase just before adjourning for the summer.

MUSIX GARAGE SALE

The National Capital Commission, which is responsible for the prime minister's official residence, confirmed that it is paying Brian and Mira Mulroney \$150,000 for used furniture, drapes, carpets and wall coverings that the family is leaving behind at 24 Sussex Drive and at the Harrington Lake estate.

CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples heard two sharply conflicting versions of how and why 87 Inuit were transported over 2,000 km in the 1950s from northern Quebec to Resolute Bay and Great Foul Bay, N.W.T. The claim, who are seeking \$11 million in compensation, testified that they were uprooted from their homes and forced into a life of hardship and depression in a barren land. But federal civil servants and RCMP officers insisted on the more solid that the Inuit left of their own accord because of declining game stocks.

HUNTING THE STRIBES

The environmental group Greenpeace supported a far-reaching protest against the B.C. government's recent decision to allow more logging along Clayoquot Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Greenpeace activists staged protests in several Canadian cities and outside 11 Canadian embassies and consulates during on Canada Day. The Clayoquot Sound area contains some of Canada's oldest and largest trees.

REPAIRING A LANDMARK

One of Canada's most famous landmarks, the Peace Tower, which is 98.2 metres over Parliament Hill, is so much decrepit that it may be difficult to maintain for as long as two years. A federal public works spokesman said that the repairs to the Peace Tower's exterior masonry, estimated to cost millions of dollars, will likely begin later this summer.

SO LONG, SOLIDARITY

On paper, the party is in an enviable position. More than half of all Canadians live in provinces governed by the New Democratic Party. At the federal level, NDP activists are laying the groundwork for a fall election campaign against an unpopular Conservative government and a Liberal Opposition whose leader, Jean Chrétien, has been denounced by critics as "yesterday's man." Across the country, 1.5 million men and women are out of work and looking to Ottawa for a bold new economic vision. After nine years of Tory rule, Canadians from coast to coast are hungry for change and a more responsive, down-to-earth style of government—precisely the sort of populist alternative that New Democrats have long championed.

Why then, are so many New Democrats across the country feeling dejected and demoralized?

Four Canada's legal NDP best seller for 28 of his 43 years, epitomizes the party's malaise. An environmental and social activist who ran unsuccessfully for the party in the 1985 provincial election, Cassidy helped Ontario NDP candidates get elected in 1990 by convincing for them to stand around Hamilton, Ont. He was also an organizer for the anti-poverty protest groups that targeted then Liberal premier David Peterson on the campaign trail. On the night that party leader Bob Rae defied predictions by becoming the first New Democrat premier in the country's most populous province, Cassidy celebrated by dancing and drinking that new day euphoria has turned to disgust over what Cassidy calls Rae's "corporate, right-wing agenda"—including the provincial government's decision to cut social services and roll back the three-day work week to 32,000 public sector workers.

So deep is Cassidy's anger, in fact, that there is a good chance that he will work to defeat the Rae government in the next election, expected in 1995. "Imagine the Premier going around the province and getting pelted by teachers, environmentalists, injured workers, poverty groups—the same people who used to wish for him," says Cassidy, now an executive member of the party's ruling caucus in Windsor's East, near Hamilton. On top of that, Cassidy predicts that Rae's policies will have a disruptive impact on federal NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin in the coming federal election. "I have a real fear that the NDP may be wiped out as a political force in this country. We've lost our raison d'être. If we're not the party of labor and working people, why do we exist?"

It is a question that many New Democrats are asking them-

selves—sometimes angrily, sometimes philosophically—as they watch NDP governments in Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan grapple with crippling deficits and public outrage over rising taxes. Since the birth of the NDP's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, in 1934, social democrats across Canada have fought for expanded social programs, public ownership and greater use of state planning to narrow the gap between rich and poor. But those goals are clearly out of step with the neo-government, belittling many of the 1990s. Instead of looking to build on their recent electoral successes, many left-leaning activists are armed in anti-revolving. "The true believers are a shakedown," says Philip Edmondson, the party's lone Quebec MP, who plans not to run in the coming election. "The party has got to go through a cleansing. It has to grapple with the fact that it has more than one master." Adds Colin Gabelman, Attorney General of British Columbia and a New Democrat MLA first elected in 1972: "During the glory days, the approach was to throw money at problems. Now we're all trying to find social-economic responses to an era of limited resources."

As the program to wage her first national campaign as party leader, McLaughlin must struggle not only with the future of social democracy but also with an array of day-to-day political headaches. The most embarrassing of those is her party's dismal showing in recent provincial polls. According to an Angus Reid/Southern News poll released on Saturday, the NDP has the support of 16 per cent of decided voters, compared to 36 per cent for the Liberals and 25 per cent for the Tories. The Reform party and Bloc Québécois each had seven per cent. "No one is denying that we face a challenge," McLaughlin told Montreal last week during a two-week pre-election tour through Western Canada. "But what are I supposed to tell the thousands of the party and our constituents—Oh well, we're at one per cent in the polls so you might as well pick it up and go home?"

McLaughlin, 55, a former social worker who is the fourth leader of the NDP since its founding in 1961, acknowledges that many party members are unhappy with the records of the Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia governments, believing that



In T.C. Douglas's shadow, Stansbury, Harcourt, McLaughlin and Rae are squeezed between the social democratic vision and the financial pressures from a stubborn recession

they represent a betrayal of cherished social democratic goals. "I do agree with everything they've done," McLaughlin said rhetorically. "Absolutely not. But, as I going to vote than one and tell them to abandon the whole thing? Absolutely not. Every one of those provincial governments has attempted to take into account people at the lowest income level. They have passed pro-labor legislation and they have tried to improve working conditions." Besides, she added, she

"The trouble with socialists is that they let their bleeding hearts go to their bloody heads."

A favorite saying of Tommy Douglas (1904-1986), a CCF founder and first federal NDP leader

has no authority over her provincial counterparts. "I am not Bob Rae's boss. Some people think that all I have to do is to tell [the NDP members] they shouldn't do something and they'll say, 'Oh, Audrey called. She thinks we shouldn't do that.'"

The tension within the NDP camp burst into the open in April when one of the federal party's most respected members, Windsor MP Steven Langford, lashed out at Rae for fighting the provincial deficit on the backs of working-class workers. "There is no way that I can stay true to the beliefs for which I fought election in 1984, no way that I can keep faith with the thousands who elected me as an MP... unless I speak out against this economic direction in Ontario," Langford said in an open letter to the Ontario premier. "Please reconsider what your government is doing."

A day later, McLaughlin fired Langford as the party's finance critic, saying that he had lost the confidence of the federal NDP caucus. But Langford continues to speak out against Rae-wind-driven circles colleagues such as MP Dan Hoag of Toronto, John Rodrigues of Sudbury and David Barrett of Vancouver Island have voiced support for his position. "The party is suffering a real identity crisis," Langford told *Atlantic* in "When I go off to Newfoundland (in instance, the discussion tends not to much to be about Audrey and the federal party, but about what Bob Rae is doing. The reality is that he is shorting out Audrey's message."

Ontario's 45-year-old premier, however, appears sanguine about the attacks from far-left allies. In a *Montreal* interview last week in his Queen's Park office, he pointed out that even Tommy Douglas, a founder of the CCF, the NDP's first federal leader and a legendary figure in the Canadian left, faced accusations during his career that he was betraying socialism. "Look at the reality of the party instead of the mythology," Rae said. "I mean, Tommy Douglas didn't introduce medicare as soon as he entered office [as Saskatchewan premier in 1944]. He had to get out of debt. He had to pay his way. He had to deal with the problems, deal with the real world. Finally, he was denounced within the party."

Not in spite of Rae's protestations, Langford's public dissent at the Ontario premier's policies continues to stir heated debate in NDP circles. Beyond a more falling out between two old friends runs a serious divide at the late 1980s, the decade open to the heart of the New Democratic Party's role in Canadian politics. It also runs new

the perennial debate over whether social democrats should make the necessary compromises to gain and hold power, or remain unwavering on the opposition benches as a social but working people and the disadvantaged.

Rae, Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow and B.C. Premier Michael Ballantyne have been clearly chosen the former option. All three men have pushed the power of local industrial and private sector as the sole creator of new wealth. They and their colleagues also stress the need for Canadians to rely less on government and more on their own initiative.

"Historically in the private sector, there was a glacial negative reaction to the role of the market," says Gabelman. "There is now a recognition that government is not the solution in every problem."

In one important respect, however, Rae's government stands apart from its western cousins. Long before their next election victories in October 1989, both Romanow and Ballantyne engaged huge leads in the polls and were prancing themselves for office. In addition, social democrats had held power before in each province—in British Columbia from 1972-1975, and in Saskatchewan from 1944-1948 and from 1971-1982. Tempered by

experience and careful not to promise more than they could deliver, the two leaders campaigned on moderate platforms and made few concrete commitments.

Rae, on the other hand, had no reason to expect that his party would supplant Pearson's Liberals in the 1980 Ontario election. As a

NDP strategist assured themselves that it didn't matter because the party stood little chance of winning. In 1986 we had a calumny-style platform in Ontario," acknowledges Rae's friend, who stepped down a year ago as the party's federal secretary and is now federal campaign manager for Saskatchewan.

"There was no expectation that Bob would be premier so all people to all people."

The period since the election has been wrenching for Rae and his party. In some areas—principally those that do not require significant new spending—the Ontario government has departed along with its reform agenda. It has given increased powers to unions, expanded the province's existing pay equity program to ensure that women are paid as much as men for work of equal value, and introduced tough new legislation to protect the rights of visible minorities and disabled people. But in many other areas, the Ontario NDP has abandoned long-standing social democratic goals it cherished for public use since 1962, conceding its opposition to casino gambling and Sunday shopping and shelved a promise to impose an inheritance tax on estates worth more than \$1 million.

Even more controversial among NDP supporters is



Public service employees demonstrate against fee during an NDP provincial council meeting in Georgetown last month. Demonstrations

result, he ran a traditional NDP campaign, promoting everything from public auto insurance to higher welfare benefits and a sharp increase in the provincial minimum wage. Although the cost of implementing those priorities would have run into the billions,

gods. If successful for public auto insurance, it concealed its opposition to casino gambling and Sunday shopping and shelved a promise to impose an inheritance tax on estates worth more than \$1 million.

Even more controversial among NDP supporters is

DOWN AND OUT IN ALBERTA: A LESSON FOR THE LEFT?

For Alberta NDP leader Ray Martin, the June 15 provincial election was a crushing setback. The party that he had helped take from political obscurity in the early 1970s to official Opposition status in 1986 lost all of its 15 seats in the legislature—including Martin's own in the working-class riding of Edmonton/Strathcona. But to acknowledge his resignation to NDP defeat next week, Martin would suggest that the electoral debacle demonstrated that the NDP's message is increasingly falling on deaf ears. "Do not write an obituary for the New Democratic Party," Martin pleaded desperately. "It won't die. It has its philosophy of justice, compassion and fairness." That may soften Martin's own party, including some defeated MLAs, can tent that the problem for the NDP goes much deeper—and that the party's stunning defeat in Alberta warrants a clear warning for social democrats across the country.

Martin attributes the NDP's loss in Alberta almost exclusively to what he calls "strategic voting." Thousands of traditional NDP supporters, he says, voted for the rearguard provincial Liberals in an attempt to cost the governing Progressive Conservatives led by Premier Ralph Klein. As a result, adds Martin, the Liberals captured 13 of 15 seats held by the NDP on the way to becoming Alberta's official Opposition. But while almost everyone agrees

that strategic voting was a significant factor, it was not the only one. Former NDP MLA Barry Pashak, who lost his seat in Calgary/Forest Lawn to the Tories, says that the party needs to radically rethink both its policies and its rhetoric. "If we demand a government and need to implement all of our policy decisions, we would bankrupt the government overnight," says Pashak. "Many of our policies are completely sound—they reflect special interest groups."

During the Alberta campaign, Martin stressed traditional NDP themes. He spoke of the need to create jobs and protect social programs, while endorsing his opposition to being closed down with deficit reduction. But the message did not always land with effect. George McIlwain, an unemployed crane operator in Martin's own riding who supported the NDP in the past, noted later that time. While McIlwain says that his main aim was to defeat Klein, he also was critical of Martin's pledge to increase taxes on people earning more than \$80,000. "He brings that up as if he's the people who least, who get people to work," says McIlwain. "Why lay that on?"

Sell, in his political remarks, Martin combined against any radical change in direction. He also rejected suggestions that the party is too beholden to special interest groups such as unions, feminists and environmentalists. "The ideal of standing up for the underdog will always be part of this party," he declared. Perhaps. But for the next four years at least, the party will have to pursue these ideas outside the Alberta legislature.

BRIAN BURGESS with JOHN ANKOR in Calgary

starts in the epic battle Rae is now waging against the province's public-employee unions. Government insiders say that the more of the contract he is in a secret ultimatum delivered to the early this year by Canadian and international bond dealers. They told the greater that if he allowed the province's deficit to reach a projected \$1.5 billion, investors would demand public bond interest rates in order to finance Ontario's debt. In the end, Rae promised to keep the deficit for 1993-1994 under \$20 billion in part by cutting \$2 billion from the public payroll.

In April, Rae unveiled legislation representing the 650,000 public service employees—including doctors, nurses, teachers, firefighters and air controllers—to negotiate the cuts in an unprecedented manner and deal with a difficult financial situation. All of us at the provincial level are going through it. We've got to find a way of sharing the burden, and it can't be business as usual. It can be economics as usual.

Rae doesn't go into this line of work because it's easy. You have to take what you think are the right decisions in terms of the labor movement, our actions are extremely constrained. We offered, and we continue to offer, an opportunity for people to sit at the table with us and deal with a difficult financial situation. All of us at the provincial level are going through it. We've got to find a way of sharing the burden, and it can't be business as usual. It can be economics as usual.

McLachlan's latest line is to do so. Rae's there has to be a recognition that we're facing a serious problem with the debt. Essentially, there's been this idea that we're going to get out of this situation. There's a negotiation between what happens in the economy and what happens in government. We're going through a serious process of economic adjustment as a province, and as a country. How you deal with that differs whether you are a social democrat or are on the far right, it would be possible to lay a bunch of people off, shut down a bunch of services and just say, "There, we've done it. We have done it. We have done it. Come and tell us how we can save money. Become partners with us in solving this problem, but let's

Three at Ontario's 71 New Democratic MLAs have broken ranks with the government over the legislation, including Karen McIntyre, who resigned last month in protest against the health bill. A far more serious problem for Rae is the threat by public service unions to withdraw their political support from his government. Last week, four large public-sector labor leaders joined the top Canadian labor leaders president Scott Horsburgh said that unless the bills of the union will stand withdrawing all future financial donations to the Ontario party. Meanwhile, Canadian Labor Congress president Bob White said that his intention is to sign a complaint over the Rae government's actions with the International Labor Organization, a Geneva-based agency of the United Nations. "Some of the things we are struggling with in Ontario can't help but have an impact on support for the federal party," White said. "The question is how much criticism some of the activities will have on the [federal] campaign too."

As for the complaints from union leaders grow louder, so do the rebuffs from Rae and his defenders. Says Ron McLellan, the Ontario premier's chief policy adviser: "Baz Hargrove can jump up and down all he

"YOU DON'T GO INTO THIS LINE OF WORK BECAUSE IT'S EASY"



Rae of Canada Day celebration while Ray Street calls him a socialist, some on the left say that he has lost out

in details noted in the Ontario legislature last week about the government's plan to replace a three-year term focus on public sector workers, Premier Bob Rae met in his Queen's Park office with McLachlan's Ontario Business Chief Paul Kishel and National Kluge Roy Lester. Kishel says the industry

McLachlan's: You have the luxury of having a couple of years before going to the polls, but federal leader Audrey McLaughlin doesn't. More government's actions contributed to her loss standing in the polls.

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lost out of the culture of denial."

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means, but if the labor movement lets the party go out of its hands it will be repeating the mistakes of the 1970s and the United Shirts. At the end of the day, you're getting scolded. In fact, an axe contribute only about 20 percent of the NDP's funding, with the rest coming from individual donations. Moreover, newcomers in the party have complained that their labor law parties are not at all united with their members and unable to deliver their votes.

So far, McLaurin has done his best to remain neutral in the dispute, no doubt hoping that the secretary will help before the party must explain its strategy for the fall election campaign. But with the Ontario government poised to begin rolling back targeted anti-inflationary measures in next month, that seems unrealistic. What, for one, says that the federal party has committed a grave error by failing to dissociate itself from Rae's economic policies?

A VETERAN FACES DISCONTENT IN 'RED SQUARE'



Byrne: "I always assume I'm too naive behind, or perhaps I'm just a don't stand up."

"I think it is going to be impossible for the federal election to be fought in isolation from the things that are taking place in Ontario," Byrne doesn't say. "The potential for very deep conflict in the middle of an election campaign is considerable."

Nor is the discontent confined to the labor movement. In British Columbia, environmentalists—another traditional NDP constituency—were enraged by Burncoast's decision to allow old-growth logging on Vancouver Island. That decision, says, the B.C. fight with the unions, has aggravated long-standing tensions within the party. "Unfortunately, there are a lot of unarticulated rage that exists within the party of violence and complaining," says Lennox Byrne, a former chief of staff to McLaurin who worked on last month's anti-corporate Alberta campaign. He admits, "It's a little depressing down the strongest supporters find it hard to get motivated any more."

Another sign of trouble for the NDP is the difficulty it faces in attracting new members. According to the political assistant at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ont., and the editor of Canadian Senator, the party has been frustrated by the neo-conservative mood among young, well-educated people since the party's 1980s. Paradoxically, many of the best in many activists who remain on university campuses view the party as a useful vehicle for social change. Three years ago, before Rae's victory, the campus NDP club at the University of Toronto had 36 enthusiastic members. This year the club had only two members, three people attended each one. "I tried to

get students out to help canvass for the campaign," says Patrick Murray, 22, the club's former executive. "People feel that the NDP has betrayed or abandoned policies. The unfortunate thing is that the party has not taken Bob Rae to task in a severe way."

While he also notes that for the first time in decades the federal NDP is facing competition from another popular party—in that case, Preston Manning's right-of-centre Reform party. Despite their policy differences, both will try to appeal to voters who are alienated from the political status quo. The question is, to what degree is the NDP now seen as part of the old establishment? With arms said, "Voters are going to be concerned about the discrepancy between the party's rhetoric in opposition and its practice in office."

There are few areas in Canada where leadership support for the NDP is stronger than in a reach of rolling farmland and small ethnic communities in central Saskatchewan that locals refer to as a "Red Square." It was here, in 1968, that a 25-year-old Lennox Byrne was the federal riding of Yorkton/Melville for the NDP—and where he has remained steadfastly through six successive federal elections. But in local elections and farmers' political action, Yorkton's Co-Op Collective was afternoon last week for their daily session of coffee and gossip, it quickly became clear that Byrne's own grip on the riding may be slipping. "I believe he's given a light on his head," declared Wilbur Belsky, a retired farmer and longtime NDP supporter who is considering voting for another party in this year's federal election. Agreed Anna Skutumpah, another retired farmer who is also a longtime Nyström supporter: "The NDP support is thinning out. You hear some say that Lennox has been there long enough."

For Nyström, now his party's finance and constitutional affairs critic, experience and a national profile are double-edged swords. Through his long years as an MP, he has developed strong personal ties with thousands of his constituents. But at the same time, there is a growing sense in the riding that Nyström has probably lost touch with his Saskatchewan roots. Nyström has long made his home in Sydney, Que., across the Ontario border from Parkville at 118. And his national reputation is mainly due to his work on constitutional issues, which have little direct relevance to people who live in the rural farming towns that dominate his riding. Various businesspeople Dick de Ryck says that Nyström's strong support for both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional records angered many of the riding's older voters, who are usually solid NDP supporters. "Concedes de Ryck: "I think the territory is ripe for the picking."

That is also the view of Reform party leader Preston Manning, who has targeted Nyström's riding as one that his party could win. Reform candidate Garry Boudreau, a schoolteacher, predicts that the anti-political establishment in the country will hurt Nyström. "What people tell me is that they are all of the same and that they want a change," says Boudreau. The incumbent will also face a stiff challenge from Liberal candidate Jim Wherry, the popular mayor of Melville (population 5,000).

Still, most observers agree that it would be foolish to predict a come-back for the 47-year-old Nyström, who was the riding by an impressive margin of 5,980 votes in the 1988 election. For his part, the veteran bilingual NDP member squarish about his chances for re-election and discounts public opinion polls that show the NDP in trouble across the country. "I've been around long enough not to get too excited by the polls," Nyström told Macdonald's last week. He added that voters' anger over the Charlottetown accord was largely vented in last October's referendum. Still, Nyström insists, "I always assume I'm too naive behind, or perhaps I'm just a don't stand up." Given the ramblings of a man used to his sprawling prairie riding, that is probably a wise strategy.

DALL ESKER in Regina

But if the party is to have any hope of rebuilding its support, it first must recognize the hearts and minds of its own troops. It became a New Democrat when it was 12 because it had this class consciousness," said Boudreau's Cassidy. "I felt that if you were an ordinary Joe, the NDP was your party. Now the politicians we heard to elect have brought with the agenda of business and the wealthy elites of government." At a time when big government has been anathema, this transformation was probably inevitable. But as many socialists see it, the politics of pragmatism are no match for the raging incineration of decades past.

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THE BITTER FRUIT OF POWER

AS MCLAUGHLIN FACES OBLIVION, THE OBVIOUS EXPLANATION WILL BE THE HOSTILITY TO NDP GOVERNMENTS IN THREE VERY UNHAPPY PROVINCES



BY
DESMOND
MORTON

The late David Lewis, master strategist of the New Democratic Party and its predecessor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), always insisted that the route to national power lay through provincial capitals. Like the Grits and the Tories, the NDP would triumph when it had won enough provinces to create a political base.

But history is more capricious than even master strategists. In 1974, after the NDP had won power in what its members called "the three happy provinces"—Manitoba, British Columbia and Saskatchewan—Lewis led his federal party to its worst showing since 1968: 34 MPs compared with 31 two years earlier and 22 in 1968. A generation later, in Audrey McLaughlin's party faces off the obvious explanation will be hostility to NDP governments in three very unhappy provinces—Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

Lewis had another historical argument—the success of socialism in dry prairie soil. In 1944, Saskatchewan voted CCF. Though local Liberals will deny it to the point of apoplexy, Tommy Douglas's government took a province bankrupted by drought, depression and the Liberals and made it a showplace for social democracy. Saskatchewan's economy turned around, its debts were paid and an array of social reforms followed. Douglas's sincerity, charm and inner toughness were part of the explanation. So was his practical treasurer, a wealthy teacher named Clarence Fries who applied the same acumen to government finances that he applied to his own home.

So we went wrong with Lewis's strategy? The three provinces won NDP governments in 1974 were not as happy as the party slogan proclaimed. Compared to Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia in 1970, though they were positively cheerful. How far have we come to the range of Tommy Douglas and the joy that agitated Clarence Fries?

The problem is partly the NDP's own fault. As much as the party wants to demonstrate its commitment to government, NDP leaders and followers spend very little time wishing people policy. Neither, of course, do Liberals and Tories, but their leaders usually state that government is wasteful and inefficient—and demand re-election when they prove the point. The NDP is different. It knows that government is the only level of power that ordinary Canadians can



Former federal NDP leaders Lewis, Ed Broadbent and Douglas, giving the party its durable charm

pell. The NDP has an enormous stake in showing that government can be thrifty, efficient and responsive.

Instead of being prepared with job-creativity policies and a desire to put them in place, Bob Rae's Ontario government needed almost 30 months—half of its mandate—to figure out its priorities and the ministers who could make the bureaucracy respond. The Roy Romanow (Saskatchewan) and Mike Harcourt (British Columbia) governments, both of which have experience in office, have handled power better. Where they share Rae's problems is in turning promises into policy.

Once again, it's a party problem. Instead of figuring out what democratic socialists nations in the 1990s, the NDP seems to take its policies from whatever group is sitting in front of the legislature.

That may be better than listening only to the slick lobbyists who enter the legislature by the side door, but not much. When the NDP takes power, attacks and enemies alike expect a great public bazaar, with hands for the underhanded, compensation for the madcap and jobs for the unemployed. Moreover, instead of working all out for its friends in office, the NDP seems to let its hatred rank and file nap when it is in power. If party members don't like what they find when they wake up, why did they go to sleep in the first place?

But the NDP and its leaders don't deserve all the blame for the party's plight. In a past century Canada, there are tough times for any government. Between 1945 and 1964, Saskatchewan's CCF could count on an almost steadily rising economy. So could NDP governments in the 1970s. In the 1990s, governments will need enough money simply borrowed and kept on spending.

That was in over. In 1994, Grant Devine's Tories left Saskatchewan as broke as it was in 1944, but Roy Romanow can't finance his debt on

rising wheat prices. For two generations, Social governments let logging companies harvest British Columbia's sustainable forests. They left it to Mike Harcourt to decide whether to cut old-growth forests or close down the province's largest industry. As for Ontario, Bob Rae inherited the full impact of the job-killing Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the worst depression since the 1930s. One in five members of its labor force are out of work, half of these have exhausted their unemployment insurance benefits, abandoned the search for work and dropped out of Ontario's unemployment statistics. Saving welfare costs and falling tax revenues hoisted Ontario's annual deficit from \$3 billion in 1990-1991 to a projected \$17 billion in 1993-1994. Rae's determination to reduce that projection with a combined \$7 billion in program cuts, tax increases and public-sector wage reductions has outraged the very people who helped to found the NDP in 1960—organized labor.

Given the "where the wealth" image of the NDP, why does Bob Rae, leader? While all three NDP governments have made mistakes for their selves and for Audrey McLaughlin, no one has engaged the NDP's friends and allies as much as Ontario's first—and possibly its last—NDP premier. Rae's answer is that a bankrupt Canada—or Ontario—would kill most of the public services Canadians need, from education to job education. Rae understands that as clearly as any right-wing economist. The difference is that Rae would have those deaths prey on his conscience and he would let that happen while his government is in power.

Other governments, including René Lévesque's pro-labor Parti Québécois in 1982, have cut public-sector wages. Gary Filmon's Tories and Clyde Wells's Liberals have forced wage reductions. Still, Bob Rae's version of restraint is distinctly socialist. He is offering almost more power in the workplace in return for wage concessions. For unions, backing the NDP means taking the risk of change, not socialism.

"Left government's almost invariably disappoint their supporters," wrote a profoundly socialist George Orwell in the austere rhythms of Britain in 1948. "At this moment, we see our own government, in its desperate economic straits, fighting its effort against its own propaganda." More than any other party in Canada, the New Democrats want to make things better for ordinary, powerless Canadians. That gives the party its durable charm. The party's misfortune is to have its noble goals better than it knows how to reach them.

Unlike the people of Orwell's postwar Britain, Canadians respect their affluence, not misery. They live on the shore of the NDP's struggle. As citizens of what John Kenneth Galbraith has recently distasteful "the culture of contentment," they don't see why tough choices should hurt them. That's tough luck for Rae and tougher for Audrey McLaughlin.

It could be tough for Canada, too. □

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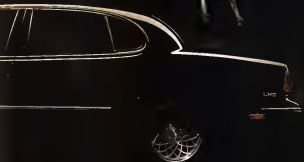
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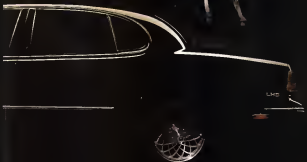
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S L E R



L H S



MORTAL ENEMIES

They are mortal enemies, willing to kill—or die—for their competing visions of South Africa. In Cape Town's desolate Tugela township, Bernard, a self-described soldier in the black leftist Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), talks at the corner "rest place" that will sweep whites aside the sea. "We have many guns hidden here and there, and we are doing some training," says the 29-year-old militant. "We are waiting for the signal to move, to hit the regime and its lackeys." Just 30 km away, in one of Cape Town's relatively plush northern suburbs, Gen. Potgieter, a member of the extreme right Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), has an answer for Bernard and his fellow black militants. "Let them come, just let them come," he says. "I am ready and my neighbors are ready. I have a rifle, a shotgun, a .357 magnum and my wife has a .38 special—and we know how to use them." Adds the 39-year-old black cattle worker: "We're three million whites can easily kill more than 25 million blacks."

Tough talks that last week, even as representatives of 26 parties, black and white, set April 23, 1994, as the date for South Africa's first non-racial elections, extremists on both

BLACK AND WHITE EXTREMISTS THREATEN TO BLOCK SOUTH AFRICA'S ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

sides of the racial divide pose real threats of civil war. Sibusiso Phisoa, defense secretary of the radical Pan Africanist Congress, denounced the democracy negotiation as a "bunch of opportunists"—and publicly called for intensification of the armed struggle against apartheid. Meanwhile, Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the neo-Nazi AWB, said that he and his followers are "preparing ourselves for war" so as to separate state for whites. University of Cape Town political scientist David Welsh takes the rhetoric seriously.

"The greater the broad spectrum of extreme parties get to a settlement, the more agitated the extremes of the left and right get," said Welsh. "The South African economy is in dire straits and this is a major cause of much of the violence and attendant polarization. Unless the economy can be turned around the violence will increase, and the chances of sustaining a democratic settlement will consequently be eroded."

Political analysts say that war talk is the last of real progress at the negotiating table is neither contradictory nor accidental. Indeed, it is the very fact of progress that is spawning left-wing militancy—as 11th-hour bid to win as much support from the ranks of disenchanted, unemployed blacks as possible before election-night groupings goes under way. But militancy has not been restricted only to black left-wing extremists. A Polish immigrant with ties to right-wing extremist groups is charged with the April 10 assassination of black revolutionary leader Chris Hani. And on June 25, hundreds of armed, armed neo-Nazis stormed the democracy negotiations in a building outside Johannesburg. Clashing entry at the tracks of an armored car that smashed through the

glassed-steel facade of the World Trade Center, they slayed and maimed black delegates, dashed walls with racist slogans and arrested in the negotiation hall.

The government of President F.W. de Klerk ordered a crackdown on the assaults and by late last week at least 34 white men were under arrest. But for the majority extremists involved, mostly Afrikaners, the assault on the table site was merely the opening volley in what they promised would be a bloody war against black majority rule and for a self-governing white homeland. Said Terre Blanche: "You can be certain we will not let our beloved be stolen by people who are killers, terrorists and murderers."

In recent public meetings held around the country, Terre Blanche has drawn thousands of nervous and angry whites to hear the same message.

Meanwhile, the much-splintered far right has come together under a single political umbrella led by a former South African army chief, self-named Gen. Constand Viljoen. Although Viljoen and other generals who formed the Afrikaner People's Front have played a calmer role in keeping the hotbeds of the far right under some control—Viljoen tried in vain to halt the AWB assault on the democracy talks venue, for instance—the formation of the Front has in itself been seen as yet another symptom of increasing polarization.

And as the polarization takes place, the threat still remains. At least 300 white farmers have died in the last year alone in attacks by black extremists. Many whites see those killings as part of a concerted effort to terrify whites in general, and Afrikaners in particular, into submission. Since last December at least a dozen incidents in which black male teens have opened fire on white motorists, apparently because of the victims' skin color alone. There have also been several riots and grenade attacks on bars and restaurants patronized mostly by whites. A public opinion poll released last week showed that although 65 per cent of South African blacks living in metropolitan areas completely oppose such racial attacks, 60 per cent say they understand why they happen. And another 10 per cent say that they only support the killing of white civilians.

Moreover, gun ship import unprecedented demand for weapons, the mid-majority purchased by anxious whites. With more

than 500 gun permits approved every day for the last three years, South Africa has the second-most heavily armed civilian population of any country in the world, after the United States. Indeed, so many people have applied for permits since Hani's assassination in April that the delay between application and approval for a permit has stretched to three months from the previous average of four weeks. Even South African police commissioner Gen. Johan van der Merwe concedes that "South Africans are gun crazy."

On a visit to Washington last week, where he lobbied for the Wlog of economic sanctions, de Klerk tried to downplay the threat of extremist violence: "For 33 to 35 years, we will have to continue to deal with racial elements on the right and the left," he told reporters, "but the legislative process in which we are involved will result in their



Angry black demonstrators in Soweto, a non-Natal town, protesting for fear (possibly) increasing polarization.

being confined to the hands, there have been just in any country. Fringe, perhaps that has the 10 months leading up to South Africa's first free elections, extremists on both sides have a fight in the death. Said the AWB's Potgieter: "Now the time has come to end our weakness and do what the American and Australian soldiers did. Kill off enough of them so that they will never be a problem again." Countered APLA's Bernard: "In the Bush, whether they are in the police or army or on the fence, who have been our oppressors. They must die or go—all of them."

ANDREW DESLER and CHRIS GRAMMAS
in Cape Town

RESPONSES TO WAR

Two days after U.S. warships shot 25 Lebanese war craft, killed a U.S. Navy intelligence helicopter in Beirut, an American jet fired a missile at an anti-aircraft artillery site in southern Iraq. U.S. officials said that Iraqi radar had locked on the jet, giving the pilot "no choice." In retaliation, a U.S. air other warplane has been blown out of the sky by Iraqi jets over Iraq to protect downed Kurds in the north and Shiite Muslims in the south from attack by the forces of military ruler Saddam Hussein.

MASS MURDER IN CALIFORNIA

A disgruntled real estate investor killed eight people and wounded six in a hail of bullets at a San Francisco law office before shooting himself in the head as police closed in. Local media reported that Gina Loughlin, 25, had been upset about a suit against him which the law firm was handling for the other side. Officials said that it was the worst mass murder in San Francisco history.

DEADLY DUTY

Somali militia killed two Pakistani soldiers in one ambush and killed 21 Italian soldiers and wounded 21 in another battle. At least 34 UN peacekeepers have been killed since a series of ambushes on June 4, which provoked a military campaign to disarm Mohamed Farah Aidid.

CLOSING BORDERS

A restrictive new asylum law came into effect in Germany which bars most refugees from entering the country—a move that neighboring countries are expected to follow. Germany, which had accepted more than two million asylum seekers since 1989, scrapped the liberal policy because the government claimed that it failed to halt Nazi violence and drained social welfare coffers.

WARMING RELATIONS

Signaling a willingness to improve relations with Vietnam, President Bill Clinton dropped U.S. opposition to a request by Hanoi to refinance debts of \$144 million with the International Monetary Fund. The loan standing American refused to give Hanoi access to IMF loans was closely related to a U.S. trade embargo, first imposed against Hanoi in 1964 and extended to all of Vietnam after the fall of Saigon to Communist forces in April, 1975.

TURKEY

The other new woman PM

Tansu Ciller takes on debt and rebellion

To a Canadian ear, it all sounds familiar: a forty-two-year-old woman takes the helm of a conservative political party eager to offer a bright new face to the voters. A relative newcomer to politics, she becomes her country's first female prime minister. But even as she takes office, she faces intractable problems of national unity and crippling government debt. The script might have been written for Prime Minister Jean Campbell. But also like another woman who is breaking tradition in a country where men's grip on power has long been even tighter than it is in Canada, Tansu Ciller, a former, American-educated economist, won the leadership of Turkey's ruling True Path party on June 12, the same day that Campbell became Tory leader, and is expected to be formally approved by parliament as her country's prime minister this week. And like Campbell, Ciller displays a self-confidence that some say borders on arrogance on the wall of her living room hangs a magnifying glass portrait of her senior aunt, Turkish heroine of World War I, Zeynep Hanım.

Even before she officially takes office, the 47-year-old Ciller (pronounced "Chilla") has become a symbol of female empowerment in Turkey. Her triumph over two older male rivals represents a shift in power to a younger generation, as well as a notable victory for women in a Muslim country. But Ciller's rise also underlines the dysfunction of Turkey's private sector and the resurgence of bourgeois conservatism. Banned after the 1980 coup, Ankara. Along with her husband, Uenal, she assisted a fortune, which by some estimates amounted to \$40 million, through real estate speculation in Istanbul. Fluent in English and German, Ciller became Turkey's youngest talk-show host at the age of 24, and earned a net worth of only three million. As Turkey, who pay great attention to their image abroad, are rejoicing that they fi-



Ciller a self-confidence that some say borders on arrogance

nally have a fresh, modern leader who represents much that Turkey aspires to be. One Istanbul newspaper, *Sabah* (Morning), could not resist headlining an article about Campbell's victory with the Wapnapi caption: "Dum Is Prettier."

Ciller has become adept at reconciling her gender and ambivalence with the conservative Muslim strands in Turkish society. The best-known story about her is that when she married at age 17, she persuaded her husband to adopt her family name, something almost unheard of in Turkey. But in a television interview after her election, she said demurely be-

lieve her husband, a former banker whose business and a close of T. Elvan economic stories, and said that "of course at home my husband is the head of the family." Likewise, she wears stylish Chanel suits but is careful to respect Islamic tradition by dropping a light veil over her hair when she visits conservative rural areas. She won her biggest applause from True Path party men when she described how beautiful she finds the Muslim call to prayer. "I have always been proud that we have been a secular and democratic model among Muslim countries," she told one interviewer. "But I am also a believer."

Ciller's careful approach reflects both the gains that Turkey has made in recent years—and the barriers that still exist. Service industries such as banking and insurance include many female middle managers, and more than half the country's doctors are women. But in other areas they have lagged behind. There are only eight women in the 450-seat parliament, and compulsory textbooks in Turkish schools still teach: "The father is the chief of the family. The mother is his assistant and best friend."

Nevertheless, Ciller is the first woman to win the leadership of an Islamic country without relying on a family connection. Mesut Yurttutan, the former prime minister of Pakistan, candidly admitted his political position from her late father, while the current leader of Bangladesh, Khaleda Zia, is the widow of a former dictator of the country. Ciller comes from an upper-middle-class Istanbul family with no history of involvement in politics, which makes her rapid rise to the top a purely personal achievement. It also makes her the symbol of a new political generation which does not define itself—as older politicians do—according to where they stood and what they did during Turkey's three military coups between 1980 and 1983.

Ciller's biggest challenge will be managing Turkey's economy. As a conservative minister for the past 30 months, she had only mixed success. While the economy is growing by a bank's 5.9 percent a year, inflation is rising at 62 percent and Turkey's international profit rating was downgraded while she was in charge—in large part because of soaring government debt. In private, Ciller has blamed her senior minister and predecessor as prime minister, Süleymen Demirel, who is now president. For understanding her efforts to

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balance the budget. She acknowledges Mesut Yurttutan as her main political model. He made a point of being photographed with Thatcher during a recent visit to London, and advocates faster privatization of state-owned firms.

In fact, Ciller is widely expected to appoint Turkey's first minister responsible for privatization as a key step towards reducing the country's bloated public sector. Turkey's government employs 580,000 people, and Ciller estimates that their chronic losses amount for 20 percent of the government's deficit. Previous Turkish governments dragged their heels in selling off state companies, partly because they used them for patronage purposes. But the new prime minister appears to be such a man of a risk-bearer that Demirel—a casebook, old-style power-broker—and has promised to move quickly. "I am here, I have no time to lose," she told an interviewer. "Turkey is at a critical point. We are up against a wall. We will either think over it or be crushed at the bottom."

Ciller will also have to tackle an urgent threat to national unity: the Kurdish insurgency in southwestern Turkey that has

claimed 20 to 30 lives a day ever since a ceasefire broke down in late May. Military forces have been ordered to probe the line last month when they occupied or attacked Turkish diplomatic offices and banks.



Kurd protest in Sydney, Australia, international pressure

across Europe. Aides to Ciller say she is prepared to break new ground by offering the Kurds wider democratic and cultural rights, such as broadcasting and access to education in their own language.

But at the same time, she has left no doubt that she will support the army in its nine-year

fight against guerrillas from the extreme separatist Kurdistan Workers Party, which has warned that it is about to withdraw its fiercest campaign ever. "We are as hard as rock here," Ciller insists. "We will continue the struggle against terrorism in an unrelenting way." Past experience, though, indicates that there is little chance of defeating the Kurdish guerrillas by stepping up military action against them.

Ciller has wanted no time in establishing her authority. First, she persuaded parliament to delay their vacations and continue sitting throughout July in order to get to work on the country's problems. Then, she outmaneuvered the opposition and won special powers from parliament to carry out her reform program. Finally, she dropped 17 old-guard ministers when she unveiled her new 30-member cabinet, a clear sign that

she intends to start with a clean slate. And Ciller has one big advantage that Kim Campbell might well envy: she does not have to call a general election until 1996.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London with
AUGY POPE in Istanbul

SETRACK. NAFTA AT RISK

**A U.S. COURT
RULING ON THE
ENVIRONMENT MAY
DELAY APPROVAL
OF NAFTA BY
CONGRESS**

Tom Hockin, Canada's new international trade minister, last week got a taste of just how difficult his job is going to be. Hockin made a shortstop trip to Washington to discuss the growing number of trade disputes between Canada and the United States. He went on to Mexico City to reassure his counterpart there that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among Canada, the United States and Mexico remains a top priority with the new Canadian government. Then, he met with Prime Minister Kim Campbell in Vancouver to prepare for the Group of Seven (G-7) meeting, starting July 7 in Tokyo, that will also focus on trade issues. Along the way, he was confronted by a new threat to NAFTA, which requires ratification by the end of the year if it is to take effect on schedule on Jan. 1, 1994. With exactly nine months to go in that schedule, a U.S. federal district judge in Washington ordered the U.S. administration to conduct a full assessment of the agreement's impact on the environment—at least, that could at least delay its implementation, and which critics of the trade pact billed as its death knell.

The ruling, handed down on June 30, would require an assessment of all the environmental consequences of the complex, multi-part trade agreement, a point mainly brought before the court and at least delay its implementation "in order for providing the Congress and the public with the information needed to assess the present and future environmen-

tal consequences of, as well as the alternatives to, the NAFTA when it is submitted to the Congress for approval." The U.S. administration launched an immediate appeal against the ruling, claiming that it interferes with the President's ability to freely negotiate international agreements. But some observers warned that, because political support for NAFTA in the United States is already weak, the ruling may be enough to tip the balance against the deal and kill it.

Hockin, who was meeting with President Carlos Salazar de Gortari in Mexico City when the ruling was announced, candidly played down its importance. Said Hockin: "The Mexicans are sophisticated enough to know, as we are, that in the U.S. system lots of court challenges occur as legislation gets closer to being passed, and most of them don't go very far. Neither of us were hoodwinked all our past by this."

In Canada, the accord has been approved by both houses of Parliament, and Hockin says that it is "fairly confident" that it will still be endorsed by the U.S. Congress. While the agreement has yet to be ratified in Mexico's congress, it is expected that it will be ratified there before the Jan. 1 deadline. Still, anti-NAFTA advocates were elated by the judgment. For one, Maude Barlow, chairwoman of the Council of Canadians and a vocal opponent of the trade deal, says that it has stopped NAFTA "dead in its tracks" for the moment. Added Barlow: "It was a Canada Day gift for us."

Three public interest groups took the challenge to the U.S. court. Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club and Public Citizens, founded by consumer advocate Ralph Nader. The scope of the environmental assessment was by the challengers could be enormous, considering that NAFTA involves thousands of kilometers of shared borders and a huge range of products, from bananas to automobiles. Neil Hilco, international coordinator of Friends of the Earth in Washington, says that the issue has given a concerned about involve the least-stringent pollution-control standards in Mexico and increased pollution from growing truck transportation across the



Mexicans in Matamoros, a court order stalls the North American trade accord

border. "Trade agreements are about more than just tariffs," said Hilco. "They are about a whole range of issues that have traditionally been considered domestic policy."

In Canada, Liberal party trade spokesman Roy MacLaren said that he expects that, as a result of the U.S. court ruling, NAFTA will not be ratified in all three countries by the target date. Added MacLaren: "It is only more obstacle on the way to fully ratification that makes it all the more puzzling why the government of Canada decided to rush the legislation through Parliament."

Canadian opponents of NAFTA had condemned the Mulroney government's decision to push the pact through Parliament before it cleared remaining hurdles in Washington. There, President Bill Clinton had insisted on an appendix to so-called side agreements—the main agreement was signed last August—on the environment and labor standards, a move aimed at allaying American fears about Mexico's lax pollution laws and cheap labor. MacLaren said that by approving the main pact ahead of its two partners, Canada weakened its negotiating position on the side agreements.

NAFTA supporters, while acknowledging Hilco's arguments, while acknowledging that the U.S. court ruling may be a setback, claim that the agreement can still proceed. The judge did not prohibit Congress from ratifying NAFTA before the environmental

impact study is carried out, and Clinton vowed last week to submit the agreement on schedule at the end of August. But he conceded that winning congressional approval will be an uphill battle. "I believe we have enough votes in the Senate to get it through, but not in the House of Representatives," he said during an interview. Opponents say that the court order will severely compromise negotiation. Still, U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor says that Washington's appeal of the federal court ruling and the implications on the side agreements will continue simultaneously.

The January deadline for final NAFTA approval was set at Mexico's request. President Salazar's term expires on Dec. 3, 1994; the trade pact is a cornerstone of his extensive economic reforms, and he is anxious to have it ratified before his term expires to ensure the program's continuity.

Free trade proponents warn that the U.S. court challenge, however valid, is an example of how special-interest lobbyists may use environmental concerns as a tactic to sidestep trade rules that harm their cause. They point to a similar environmental dispute last week that occurred when a committee of the European Commission suddenly banned the import of raw Canadian lumber, claiming that it contained the poisonous nematode, which could harm

European forests. Canadian officials are disputing the claim that toxic may be carried by the nematode.

Former trade minister Michael Wilson says that the NAFTA side agreements on environment and labor standards could similarly pose a threat to Canada. Said Wilson: "The danger is that protectionists will be able to use these agreements for their own purposes." In the future, if the agreements are not carefully written, he noted, Canada might find that U.S. companies use them to launch trade cases against Canadian industries—not just those in Mexico.

The Canadian business community, however, was taking a wait-and-see attitude towards the environmental court ruling last week. Said Timothy Page, senior vice-president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Ottawa: "NAFTA is not creating a trading trend. It is just expanding it. That trend is not going to go away, even if NAFTA does not pass." Still, for Tom Hockin, who is trying to keep other international trade negotiations moving ahead, while at the same time dealing with the outbreak of new trade disputes with the United States, the latest challenge to NAFTA is probably one that he could have done without.

PRENTICE DANIELSON with **SCOTT STUEBE** in Toronto

GROWTH SPURT

The Canadian economy will grow faster in 1993 and 1994 than any of the other major industrial countries, according to the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). A report issued last week said Canada's gross domestic product will grow by 3.3 per cent this year and 4.5 per cent next year. The OECD also noted that the annual inflation rate should be only 1.9 per cent in 1993 and 2.0 per cent in 1994, better than any of the G-7 countries except Japan. However, it also predicted that unemployment will remain at 11.3 per cent of the labor force this year and 10.8 per cent next year.

RETRIBUTIVE TRADE TALKING

Frustrated American trade negotiators suspect sugar imports could cost the Canadian industry \$80 million in annual sales according to industry officials. The U.S. agriculture secretary has asked President Bill Clinton to endorse measures that would effectively end Canadian exports of refined sugar to the United States as well as two sugar-containing products. The targeted products are refined sugar made from beets, grown in Manitoba and Alberta, as well as powdered drink mixes and gelatin. Altogether the products affected account for about 30 per cent of Canadian sugar production.

A ROYAL APPOINTMENT

The Royal Bank of Canada has nominated a former senior vice-president, Tony White, to head Royal Trust's lat of Canada's new bank, the bank's merger with the long-established Bank of Montreal. White, who is president and chief operating officer, will take on the job of chairman of the board of Royal Trust. Earlier this month, the bank signed an agreement with Citicorp Inc., American Express, to buy its American Bank and Canadian operations. That deal is expected to close by Aug. 30.

AIR TRAFFIC SLUMP

Air Canada of Montreal has announced that passenger traffic declined 13 per cent in May compared with the same month a year earlier. But in traditionally the beginning of the peak summer travel season. That drop meant that only 84.5 per cent of Air Canada's available seats were filled. Its Calgary-based rival, Canadian Airlines, posted a 3.3 per cent increase in traffic during the month, with rates up 70 per cent of available seats filled.

Ring in a change

Financial shocks hit Northern Telecom

There was a carnival atmosphere in the darkest auditorium last week as Jean Minety, accompanied by thrilling rock music, colored spotlights and waves of smoke, crisscrossed the stage. What the crowd of 2,000 did not make in the time, however, was the brilliance of the juggling act performed before their eyes by the new chief executive officer of Northern Telecom Ltd. of Mississauga, Ont., a leading global telecommunications equipment manufacturer.

In fact, even as Minety calmly and confidently unfurled the usual pantheon of customers of Northern Telecom's Meridia Telephony System about his strategy for the future, the company was under attack. In just one day of dramatic trading on June 25, Northern Telecom's share price plummeted by 38 per cent to \$37.12 from \$57.37 a share and its stock market capitalization dropped by \$2.5 billion. By the time *The Toronto Star* Etc. change closed on Friday, the company's shares were trading at \$34.38 each and its market capitalization was down by more than \$3 billion. The drop was so severe that one group of outraged U.S. shareholders filed a lawsuit against Northern Telecom alleging that they had been misled about the company's financial prospects. Said Michel Guay, a vice-president at Dillon, Read & Co., an investment dealer in New York City: "It's like those moments where the outrageous gossamer light catches and turns the crowd."

Northern Telecom has suffered setbacks in the market before—but never such a dramatic and extended free fall. Through much of the recession, the company's aggressive expansion into international markets and its reliance on financial results earned it a devoted following among individual and institutional shareholders across North America. That devotion, however, was not as undented in the face of uncertainty about future performance. And uncertainty was what Minety had asked average investors when, on June 25, he revealed that Northern Telecom would report its first loss in five years, for the second quarter of 1993, and that all earnings forecasts for 1993 should be revised downward.

At the same time, Minety also announced the abrupt resignation of Northern Telecom's chairman and former chief executive, Paul Stern. Longtime company director and former chairman of Procter & Gamble Co., O (Bradford Butler replaced Stern. Then, just four days later, Minety orchestrated a major shake-up among Northern Telecom's senior executive ranks. Company management has now been organized along global product



Northern Telecom plant in China—competing in new markets

lines rather than by geographic regions. Said John Strauss, vice-president of corporate relations at Northern Telecom: "These moves put into place the first building blocks of Mr. Minety's future."

In an era of intense global competition, Minety's intent is an especially critical one at Northern Telecom's history. Over the past 12 years, the telecommunications industry has been characterized by the rise and fall of fewer larger companies vying fiercely for contracts in an environment of deregulation, international trade and fast-paced technological change. There are now seven major worldwide telecommunications equipment manufacturers, down from 15 companies in

1980 and 30 in 1990. As telecommunications networks are installed and updated in developing economies like China and Eastern Europe, the global market is forecast to grow from around \$60 billion in 1993 to \$200 billion by the end of the decade. And according to industry experts, a company needs at least a 10-per-cent share of that market to remain competitive.

To stay in that global game, Northern Telecom has been forced to learn how to negotiate and how to operate facilities in a host of foreign languages and markets, from Turkey to Brazil. At the same time, it has had to balance the demands of efficient production and competitive pricing with aggressive research, development and marketing of new products. In 1992, the company spent \$1.6 billion on research, development and capital costs, up from \$1.3 billion in 1990. Said John Dinkel, a Toronto-based securities analyst with Credit Suisse Securities Ltd.: "You have to give to play. You can never stop spending because of the phenomenal pace of change."

To date, Northern Telecom has proven to be adept at keeping pace with its rivals through cost-cutting campaigns, international acquisitions—such as the \$3.5-billion purchase of Bellco's RCT PLC in 1990—and a variety of international joint ventures. The company also has the benefit of a stable controlling shareholder: the widely held Montreal-based ITC Inc., which owns 32.4 per cent of its stock. ITC's dominance allows Northern Telecom to focus on broad strategic planning and goals without excessive short-term pressure to post quarterly gains and to boost share price. Furthermore, through its parent, Northern Telecom has a close relationship with BCE's wholly owned telephone utility, Bell Canada—Northern Telecom's largest customer.

Despite that close relationship with Bell Canada, the recession has taken its toll on Northern Telecom's overall sales volume and also has brought about more aggressive pricing to hold on to its customers. In fact, in its statement on June 25, the company attributed the projected second-quarter loss to "lower than expected" sales at the company's central office switching equipment (CSE) segment. 50 per cent of its total sales last quarter were in CSE. But, sharply in 1992, gross profit margins on sales were down by \$20 million from a year earlier, to \$41.5 billion or 40.5 per cent compared with 41.8 per cent in 1992. Despite those financial pressures, the costs of research and development are recorded as they are



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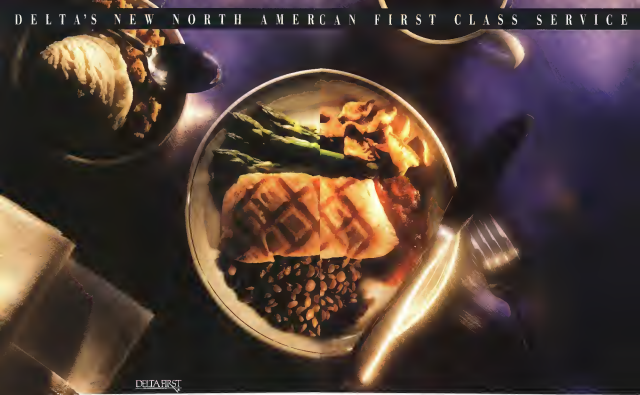
It's no wonder it's a challenge. The men we're talking about are Jack Nicklaus, Raymond Floyd, Fred Couples and Nick Price.

What is a wonder though, is how they do

what they do. It's not like they have two more hands than we do. Or are more eye. But they naturally make the kind of shots we don't even make in our dreams. Yet for some reason, when you watch them in person, you

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incurred through the payout as a major investment may take years.

The lack of detailed information provided by the company about Stern's sudden departure as chairman, and the projected financial loss, quickly ignited speculation that the company might be preparing to announce more sweeping changes in the near future. In particular, that speculation has focused upon a major restructuring of Northern Telecom's hitherto operations and a possible threatened revision of the value of assets. According to financial analysts who follow the company, Monty, who replaced Stern as chief executive officer in January, may now take advantage of a singular opportunity to clean house and to take strong financial and legal, without taking responsibility. Named Guite "There's a natural predisposition in me by all the blame on an outgoing CEO, a tendency to sweep several problems into a tidy portfolio and dispose of it."

In his first public appearance following Stern's departure as chairman last week, Monty took pains to draw a clear line between Stern's regime and his own. While Stern had a reputation, in a broad, extraordinary context, as a man who was enhanced by the 1980 publication of his controversial prescription for corporate success, *Strategic* in the Top, Monty is known as a polished and approachable team player. Such was at Northern Telecom's marketing executives "During internal presentations, Monty is

laid-back but friendly. With Stern, you know he was always willing to be on the side of you and show that he was serious."

Prior to joining Northern Telecom as president and chief operating officer in October, 1993, Monty, 46, served as the chairman and chief executive officer of Bell Canada. He joined Bell in 1974 after working in the corporate finance department of investment dealer Merrill Lynch Canada Ltd. in Montreal. A native of Montreal, Monty has a master's degree in economics from the University of Western Ontario in London and a master of business administration from the University of Chicago.

Northern Telecom's 58,000 employees agree that he is not the only one to express apprehension about Stern's hitherto approach.

While he aggressively promoted Northern Telecom's international expansion with his Vision 2000 strategy, which aimed to make the company the top global telecommunications supplier by the end of the century, many observers suggest that he badly neglected customer relations. Monty, however, is clearly attempting to restore the company's focus on both customers and consultants.

In his bid to pull closer to end users, Monty told the Toronto gathering of Meridian telephone users last week that, as the former head of Bell Canada, he has extensive experience as a client of Northern Telecom. In his address to the group, he said that he understood their needs and the value of their input to the company. Declared Monty: "One of my priorities is to lead a program to develop a customer-first culture in Northern Telecom." He added, "We must learn from you and be responsive. Customer choices and feedback must drive product development."

Monty recently avowed the launch of an in-house "customer-first" program that, over the next 18 months, is intended to establish a new on-line system for logging and responding to customer comments. The appointment of another former Bell Canada executive, Brian Shew, to the helm of 70-per-cent-owned Bell Northern Research Ltd., Northern Telecom's research and development laboratory, is seen as another step in closing the gap between end users and product development.

Monty's speech to Meridian telephone customers also was significant because it deliberately modified the company's strong

emphasis on the international arena. Just two weeks after Northern Telecom concluded an agreement with the Chinese government to expand Northern Telecom's presence in that improving market, Monty said, "North America will be its core market for Northern Telecom for years, if not decades to come."

In 1992, operations in Canada and the United States generated 80 per cent of the company's 1992 revenues of \$10 billion. But it is in North America that the company faces the most intense competition and, some observers say, the most rapidly changing telecom marketplace. Although New York's Galle insists that telephone systems across North America are undergoing a "constant, massive upgrading" and that demand will continue, there are some short-term concerns. Key customers like Bell Canada

have curtailed spending on capital equipment because of the recession; as well, the recent deregulation of long-distance telephone markets in Canada has heightened competition—and uncertainty—in a formerly monopolized market.

Analysts anticipate that sagging demand in emerging foreign markets like China will offset the current downturn in North America over the long term. Under its new

agreement with China, Northern Telecom will invest \$50 million to \$100 million there during the next two years and it will undertake a third joint-venture project later in 1993. By the end of the decade, China is planning to buy the equipment required to

the upside for earnings is massive," he said.

Foreign markets, however, are not without complications. Beyond North America, governments frequently play a decisive role in awarding contracts, and their decisions are often influenced as much by political considerations as by price and quality considerations. On another level, international currency swings can also have a dramatic, arbitrary effect on the economics of telecom investments. Despite the widely acknowledged strategic merits of Northern Telecom's British investment in BT, the weak performance of British sterling has sharply reduced the profit it returned to Northern Telecom in U.S. dollars.

After last week's flurry of developments, investors and analysts will now have to wait until July 29 when the company will release more detailed information about

Northern Telecom's second-quarter performance and any corporate restructuring plans following its monthly board meeting. Said Guite: "That company has done the last 50 days at 150 m.p.h. with the roof down. They'll accelerate again before Monty's daunted." Far away, however, Northern Telecom appears destined to make a pit stop.

DEBORAH SCHWARTZ



Monty: customer focus



Worker testing equipment: spending can never stop



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In Touch with Tomorrow

TOSHIBA



A promising new native project

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

This is the story of three true brothers. One is an Indian Chief from the Stoll Wauvash band on Barrard Island, in North Vancouver, another is a developer, born in Thailand, raised in Australia, educated in Los Angeles and who now runs half a dozen major real estate projects in British Columbia; the third is the money guy—a native of Montreal, Alta., who looks like a banker, thinks like a banker, but doesn't act like a banker.

It's a remarkable trio, not only because they share the vision of aboriginal pride and independence, but because they're turning his doing something important. What's really significant about their project—a \$33-million housing development on native land just across the water from downtown Vancouver—is that it will set the pattern for other projects.

"When we bypass government and start to negotiate with our natives as people," Chief Leonard George told me, "he gets a lot better for everybody." Explains George: "We're taking risks, the three of us, but it's worth it, because we're trying to do native people to rise to the occasion of their own. That I've been advised 100 years after business with the development of Indian affairs, doing business away from them is going to be a piece of cake. We're finally free. It's a shame for us to be so destitute in a land so rich."

The son of Dan George, who acted in 18 movies, Leonard grew up in the film industry but was elected chief of his 20th-century band four years ago. He still does the odd acting job and is producing a 28-second TV series, to be filmed in Canada, financed in Italy, based on the epic movie *A Man Called Horse*.

George, 46, is not a radical. He just wants to get things done, even if that requires radical solutions. He doesn't waste much energy attacking the boob-baba at Ottawa's department of Indian affairs because he regards them as fiscally irrelevant. They were there even before the government applied its cor-

**B.C. Indian Chief
Leonard George:
'We're finally free.
It's a shame for us
to be so destitute in
a land so rich.'**

rent spending mistake, but now Ottawa has no money to fund art, even if it wanted to. That was why George began to push for a special independence by first negotiating his band council with the sense of self-confident desire that prompted them, earlier this year, to invite outsiders to develop land on their reserve.

He waited 18 months for Ottawa to approve the leasing arrangement, which set a precedent, because the band is listed as a leaseholder, instead of being merely a passive partner in the development project. (Legally, Indians are still not allowed to transfer title to their own land.) "What self-government means to me," George says, "is that we can be independent enough to take on responsibility for ourselves, so that we can become contributors to, instead of dependents on, the system."

George set a precedent when he prompted the building of a new golf driving range on Indian land by offering his financial backing a 20-year lease that he believes is equivalent to a single life that goes with the purchase of a condominium—the compact doesn't own the building but has the right to live in it. The developer of the range and the yet-to-be-con-

pleted housing project in Louisa King Lane who, until last month, was the president of Abbey Woods Developments, which owns Vancouver's upscale Palladium Hotel and the entire 1200 block on West Georgia, downtown's most expensive street. He is now a partner in his own development company.

George and his counsel interviewed 18 developers before choosing Lam to build 100 private housing units in the project's first phase. (The band owns a total of 260 acres in what has become a highly desirable residential area.) "We needed a long-term marriage instead of a one-night stand," says George—and that's what he got.

Says Lam: "We found ourselves to be much more than a development partner. We have become partners in just about everything the band does. There's a lot of risk because there's really nothing we could give the bank as collateral, and it took 18 months to get the loan. So, we gave the bank our personal guarantees—my company's as well as my own. And the reason we had such a comfort level was that we've worked with George and his counsel every day for the past six months. I got to know them very well and I trust them." Because many of the Indian band workers have to be fully trained, labor costs are higher than the industry average. As a result, instead of the 45-percent profit Lam might have expected from building the development, he'll make about 10 percent. "But that's not the point," he says. "We're not interested in one or two projects. We're in this for the long term." The golf driving range now employs 30 Indians, only the cashier is non-native. It's the first asset the band has ever owned.

The third member of this unlikely trio is Ron Droll, vice-president, commercial banking, at the Hongkong Bank of Canada. "We're not clients of the bank," declares George, "we're partners. When you share a vision, as Ron Droll does, and it's much easier to work together." Droll, who dines around Vancouver in a sordidly plush Penthouse, stashed private accounts from his co-partners, agrees. "I went out on a limb because I got to know and admire the people behind the project. It was a risk worth taking." John Droll, a 20-year veteran of the Bank of Nova Scotia before he joined the Hongkong Bank a decade ago. "There's virtually no track record of the Big Five banks backing Indian ventures in this country during the past hundred years."

George perceives his project as a prototype for other bands to copy. By donating land into the area, they can gain employment, technology transfers and equity in the future. "It's as simple as that the chief and his council work together with the entire community," he says. "Everybody—the Indians, the developer, the banker and Ottawa—that to know exactly where they stand."

Chief Leonard George's precedent may turn out to be pivotal. Apart from their reservations, the Stoll Wauvash band claims cover all of Barrard Island. That includes Stanley Park and most of downtown Vancouver.

TENNIS

THE SPORT OF A LIFETIME



HOW MANY SPORTS can be played by people of all ages—literally from under six years old to over eighty years young—the way tennis can? • How many can be played just as easily indoors or outdoors, the way tennis can, to make it a year-round sport anywhere in the world? • How many sports are so flexible as to be played individually (singles), in pairs (doubles) or in teams? • How many can be adapted so easily to meet the needs of the physically challenged, particularly to those confined to a wheelchair, the way tennis can, to truly make it a sport for people of all levels of ability? • How many games can be played on as many different surfaces, from outdoor grass to indoor carpet,



THE 1988 MANI Line Map of Ayrick, Ont. The ongoing world-wide 40 Centre children's efforts as his teenage years when he won the Canadian Junior International title in 1946, 1947 and 1948. Photograph: Ron Tancos

and from red or green clay to pavement? • How many are convertible in the way tennis is to mini-tennis, a miniature version of the full court game which meets the needs of young children, complete with smaller rackets, lighter balls and compact playing areas? • How many are as popular in as many countries, on as many continents? How many sports transcend ethnicity and origin: the way tennis does? How many are played almost equally by men and women—52 to 48 percent in Canada—and as comfortably at the highest levels of professional sport? • And while we're at it, how many sports are as well-organized across all age groups around the world so as to produce a player who could win international titles six decades apart?

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Tennis Canada

100 YEARS AND COUNTING

Formed in 1920, Tennis Canada is one of the largest and oldest national sports associations in the country. Tennis Canada is a full member of the International Tennis Federation and operates the Player's Ltd. International Canadian Open for men as part of the BNP Paribas Tour and the Marlene L. International Canadian Open and Bell Challenge for women as part of the Bell Tour.

PART OF SPORT CANADA

Tennis Canada is part of Sport Canada and is a member of the Sports Federation of Canada and the Canadian Olympic Association. Its membership is made up of the 10 provincial tennis associations, which are partners in much of its programming, most notably SYSTEM 96, the blueprint for an integrated sport system for Canadian tennis.

THE PLAYER DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

The Player Development Division of Tennis Canada manages a wide range of developmental programs under the umbrella of SYSTEM 96, the plan to build an integrated sport system for Canadian tennis. The division oversees of emphasis are: 1. Youth Development (Kids' Tennis); 2. Team Development (Team Canada); 3. Coaching Certification and Development.

THE EVENTS DIVISION

The Events Division of Tennis Canada is directly responsible for all national tournaments and internationally-sanctioned competitions held in Canada, including such major championships as the Player's Ltd. International, the Marlene L. International, the Bell Challenge women's Interim tennis championships and the SunLife Women's Match operates the Philips Junior National and Fringe Junior International, the Marlene L. and senior Interim nationals, along with other events on the international schedule, such as ATP Tour ATP Futures Challengers (Senior & Junior) and ITF Satellite tournaments (Senior & Junior).

SPECIAL SERVICES

Tennis Canada coordinates a series of other special activities to assist in the promotion and development of Canadian tennis. Canadian Tennis Week, Tennis Canada Conference Series (Mall of

The fact is, there is nothing quite like the many permutations of tennis, which is aptly described by those close to it as "The Sport of a Lifetime." And there are not many lifetime players who can rival the accomplishments of Lorne Maas of Aurora, Ont.

Maas exemplifies tennis as "The Sport of a Lifetime."

Today he is a 63-year-old right-hander who teaches tennis at the Timberlane Club north of Toronto. The nineties represent his seventh decade of tennis.

He first made his mark as a wide-eyed Vancouver teenager when tournament play resumed after the Second World War. In the summer of '46, he won what would be his first of a record three consecutive singles titles at the Canadian Junior International, the under-18 Canadian Open.

Maas went on to represent Canada in the Davis Cup men's world team tennis championships while still in his teens. In fact, until Sébastien Larouche of Boucherville, Que., and Daniel Nestor of North York came around in the 1990s, Maas's debut at the age of 19 years and two months was the youngest by a Canadian in Davis Cup competition.

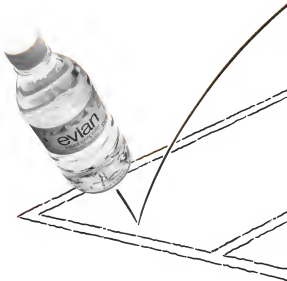
He travelled the international circuit in the 1950s, winning tournament titles in Brussels and Monte Carlo in 1954.

What makes Maas's life in tennis all the more remarkable is what he's still doing today, 47 years after his first Canadian Junior International crown in 1946.

The model of physical fitness to a generation of silver foes, Maas is the reigning world over-60 singles and doubles champion, having swept top honors on the red clay courts of Barcelona at the

WHEELCHAIR TENNIS
Marlene L. Maas is one of the most popular sport applications for physically challenged athletes in Canada and around the world.

TRAINING FOR CANADA
Maas and his brother, David, are both active in tennis. David is a member of the world's top 10 doubles players and this year won the 16 world titles won by Canada or Great Britain. Maas has played at 12 of them. Maas is 6'4" tall. Photograph: George Davis



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INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

DOUBLE Inside Canada's tennis past and future as one of the leading young talents in women's professional tennis.

Graphic: The tennis past and future as one of the leading young talents in women's professional tennis.

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International Tennis Federation senior championships in April. He won the singles by defeating Henri Cochet of France, 6-3, 6-3. And he added the doubles by teaming up with his long-time partner, Ken Stuetgen of Austria, to beat Werner Merten of Germany and János Gulácsy of Hungary.

The win reinforced Mann's status as the premier over-60 tennis player on the planet. It's a well-deserved reputation that dates back to 1986 when he defeated former Australian great Frank Sedgman to win the ATP over-55 singles championship in Pörschach, Austria.

Since then, Mann has won two over-60 singles trophies, his first coming two years ago on grass in Perth, Australia. With Stuetgen — another phenomenal lifetime athlete who played his first tennis tournament at the age of 32 — Mann has captured six over-50 doubles titles and three over-60 doubles crowns. The two arrived as the mainstays of four Austria Cups, the Davis Cup for over-60s, in the latter half of the 1980s. And last summer, they gave Canada top honors in the Van Coten Cup over-60 world team tennis championships.

In fact, of the 14 world tennis titles won by Canada at Canadian Tennis Open, Mann has figured in 12 of them. He is, on record, one of the most successful tennis open.

Little wonder he was among the inaugural slate of inductees into the Hall of Fame of Canadian Tennis in 1991, an endorsement which acknowledged him as one of the most successful players in the first 100 years of tennis history in this country.

This year he was named the honorary chairperson of Canadian Tennis Week, the week-long celebration of "The Sport of a Lifetime."

Part of Canadian Tennis, Tennis Canada Computer Rankings, Tennis Canada Library, Tennis Canada Yearbook, and Tennis Canada Magazine.

PLAYER'S LTD. INTERNATIONAL

The \$2.1 million Player's Ltd. International leads into 1993 as one of only two single-week tournaments on the ATP Tour. The Player's Ltd. International, which dates back to 1981 and is the world's first longest-running major championship to lead only Wimbledon and the U.S. Open, will be played July 23-August 1 at Northern's Terry Tennis Stadium. Tickets are available at (905) 384-4066 or (416) 710-1345.

MATTHEW LTD. INTERNATIONAL

The 1993 \$500,000 Matthew Ltd. International is part of the Kraft Pro Series 1993 series of 10 Challenger Events, which includes the four Grand Slams, Lipton the seven Tier I championships and the year-ending WTA Tour Championships. The Matthew Ltd. Championships, which date back to 1980, are scheduled for August 14-22 at the National Tennis Centre at York University. Tickets are available at TicketMaster outlets or by telephoning (416) 872-0000.

WTA CHALLENGER SERIES' BEACH CHAMPIONSHIPS

Canada gets its second berth in the WTA Tour Oct. 30-Nov. 7 when the \$100,000 WTA Challenger Series' Beach Championships hit Club Harbour in Banff, Alberta. The Tour III event is the second best women's tournament before the year-ending WTA Tour Championships in New York City, Nov. 15-21.

YOUNG LADIES OF TENNIS

The Tennis Legends all-star event will bring together many of the top women's players in the history of the open era of tennis. July 22-23 at Northern's Terry Tennis Stadium. The Tennis Legends, which will make its debut as part of the fledgling ATP Senior Tour, will be presented in conjunction with the Player's Ltd. International and will involve 10 former grands in both singles and doubles.

PHILIP JORDAN INTERNATIONAL

The Philip Jordan International, the under-18 Canadian Open for boys and girls, has around the world as one of the top events in the ATP Junior Circuit, earning an ATP membership prior to the fourth and final Junior Grand Slam event. The U.S. Junior Open (Pete Sanchez) in Bakersfield, Calif., has served as host site since 1986.

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unique because of the individual challenge," says Bazgen. "You are out there on your own and at a basic level, you are playing against yourself!" Another who has maintained a competitive spirit all his life is long-time sports journalist George Gross, the corporate sports editor of Sun newspapers in Toronto, Ottawa, Calgary and Edmonton. At a 15 year old on his first trip away from home, the Brampton-born Gross encountered Czech great Janoslav Droby in the Czechoslovak junior championships. Gross remembers Droby winning, 6-1, 6-3. He is also quick to point out Droby went on to win Wimbledon in 1954.

"The fitness side of tennis is very important to me," notes Gross, who turned 70 this year. "I don't like running three miles on the road, but I can play three hours of tennis. The average match time is an hour. That's what makes tennis great for most working people. You play, shower for 15 minutes and you're out in an hour and a half. Golf is a five to six hour job."



Despite her busy schedule, Montreal commercial real estate executive Jacqueline Bonnet, a member of the Board of Directors of Tennis Canada, finds time to play two to three nights per week. For her, it's born a lifetime habit. She started playing at the age of five. "I play primarily for physical fitness and I really play singles," and Bonnet, whose average match keeps her on court for between 90 minutes and two hours. "But I find it a very clever sport. It helps to keep me mentally and socially sharp as well."

Francine Gauthier, a former member of Canada's Davis Cup city's national team, who rose to prominence as lawyer for the City of Montreal and is now a judge in the Quebec juvenile court, is more philosophical. "Tennis is an excellent outlet for the trials and tribulations of life," he says. "Interests change but the need for physical fitness and exercise becomes only more important."

Gauthier, who served as president of Tennis Canada from 1983 to 1987, says he has rediscovered tennis. "I have more need for it now at the age of 55 than I did at 25, especially for my heart, circulation and my system. And the universality of tennis will allow me to keep playing. Because of the structure of age category competition around the world, I'll continue to achieve friends when I played against many years ago."

Oliver North Cup) over 35 men (Brampton Cup) and over 70 men (Crested Cup).

GRASSROOTS AND RESEARCH

Coaching development is a major thrust of STS-TOR 55. The new Tennis Canada Coaching Certification Program has been developed with the Coaching Association of Canada (CAC) and is part of the NCCP. Certification clinics are run by the various provincial tennis associations. In 1995 Canada also organizes a series of coaching conferences.

COMMON TENNIS WEEK

Held in June of each year, Common to Two Week celebrates The Family Spirit of a Lifetime through a series of activities aimed at introducing people to tennis. Common Tennis Week promotes the sport as an excellent means to physical fitness and one that can be played by people of all ages and levels of ability.

EXCELLENCE AWARDS

Tennis Canada runs several programs to recognize excellence on and off the court, including the Tennis Canada Excellence Awards, which are presented to leading players, coaches and administrators around the country. Tennis Canada also works with the Sports Federation of Canada and other groups to honor achievements by athletes and teams in an ongoing basis.

HALL OF FAME IN COMMON TENNIS

Each year, Tennis Canada and its member provincial associations pay tribute to the sport's leading contributors by inducting deserving members into the Hall of Fame of Canadian Tennis in categories for both players and leaders. Plans call for the creation of an official Hall of Fame Museum.

COMPUTER BANKING

The progress of Canada's top tennis players is now tracked by the Tennis Canada Computer Bankings. The computer is using system files over 1,000 Canadian men and women. Ranking points are given for selected tournaments contained in the national and provincial levels.

THE MISSION

Each of the above programs and events represents a step forward in the mission of Tennis Canada, which is committed to the advancement of tennis in Canada by promoting participation and excellence in the sport of the local, provincial, national and into international levels.



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ASSIGNMENT IN SICILY

Fifty years ago, Canadian soldiers engaged the enemy in their first major offensive of the Second World War—the massive invasion of Sicily on July 10, 1943. They joined British and American armies in a long-distance airborne assault (that delivered more fighting men to battle than the Normandy landings in France 11 months later). It was a turning point: the attack on the mountainous Mediterranean island, and its conquest after 38 days of fighting, was the first trench in the control of Europe by the non-Fascist Axis powers. Supplied and transported by more than 3,000 ships and landing craft, and by thousands of aircraft, the invasion ultimately put ashore almost half a million Allied warriors against 300,000 Italian and German defenders who, amazingly, given the scale of the attack, were taken by surprise.

Beginning early on that July Saturday, more than 27,000 Canadian men and women, including nurses who helped set up a 500-bed hospital, and men of the navy and air force, joined the battle. Some 25,000 of them were soldiers of the 1st Canadian Infantry Division, who had been operating in Britain since 1939, and the 1st Army Tank Brigade. They had sailed about 2,400 miles from Scotland aboard 125 ships, three of which were torpedoed by German submarines off Algeria, with the loss of 58 Canadians. In Sicily, the Canadians captured an airfield at Pachino five hours after landing, and later seized a series of towns, sometimes in hot house-to-house combat in such inland strongholds as Leonforte.

Eric Maclean, war correspondent for *Pictorialist* provided the first dispatch to *Maclean's* from the Sicily front. That report, slightly abbreviated, is reproduced here. To file his story to the town twice-monthly magazine, and to record his first voice reports, he flew to Algiers in the last week of July. Shumberg, now 75 and living in Vancouver, relates his wartime experiences in memorials to be published in October by the University of Toronto Press.

The Sicilian campaign, code-named Operation Husky, ended in victory on Aug. 17. It prompted the surrender of Italy on Sept. 3, the day that Canadian and British troops crossed Messina Strait and seized the tip of the Italian mainland. The Allies faced a protracted, bloody struggle against stubborn German armies up the boot of Italy. But Operation Husky divided and supplied Germany's military strength. And it provided a guide for the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944—a prelude to the end of the European war, and Aug. 15, 1945.

In Sicily, 682 Canadians died and 1,584 were wounded, including 127 nursing sisters. Shortly after the invasion, Dorothy Baxter wrote to her London letter to Maclean's about the excitement over Canadian involvement in that campaign, and concluded: "The glory of Canada's story deepens in the Mediterranean twilight."

BY PETER STURSBURG

In the first Maclean's report from the battle for Sicily in the summer of 1943, Shumberg recounted how he and others in the airborne assault had worried that "it was going to be like Dieppe." The disastrous 1942 Canadian raid on the port city in northwest France (page 66). He went on to describe how, while the landing force in the beach at Dieppe, the landing on the Sicilian beaches was largely unopposed.

The landing craft advanced away from the big troupe that brought us from Great Britain and crossed slowly through water dark blue in the early light of morning toward the grey outline of the Sicilian shore. All around us was a host of great ships—troopships and freighters and warships—and in front of us were other landing craft. I watched these little boats disappear into the smoke screens just before they reached shore. There was the chatter of machine-gun fire and the leader came off shell fire as a destroyer covered us in support of our advance.



Then there was a sudden silence. Our landing craft was now close enough so we could see lines of men moving across each beach. Our boat stopped a little way from shore and I thought, "We've hit the seal bar. Now we've got to swim for it."

I could see vineyards and little white houses on shore and a town on the hills behind. The sun was shining now and the officer beside me said, "It looks like the sort of picture you get in a geographical magazine."

An amphibious tank, called a duck, which had gone ashore, wheeled around and splashed out to us. It came alongside and everyone yelled in a few minutes later I jumped down on dry sand. I had landed in Sicily. It all seemed easy. During the landing operation on the British beaches we had walked ashore in water up to our chests and here I was in the sand and there was not even my boots were wet.

I walked along a beach which was about as wide as Toronto's Balm Beach or Sunnyside. It did not seem like war. It did not even seem like an invasion. There was not a sound of shots being fired. A column of Italian prisoners passed us. One of them threw his helmet into the sea. It was a gesture of defeat.

He at least was through with the war. A Canadian soldier who had just come ashore picked it up. I sat on it a said done and wrote my first story. Men were pouring out of landing craft and swimming ashore and larger ships were coming into the beaches. Their bows appeared up like doors when they stopped and out of the hangarlike muzzles rolled tanks and trucks and guns.

There was the usual confused operation confusion in the early hours. Though somehow it was an organized confusion. I lagged my back and typewriter through swamps, sweat pouring off me from the burning noon-day heat. I tramped along busy footpaths made looking for dressed headquarters but nobody seemed to know



Canadian tank in action soon after landing in Sicily; a massive invasion that took the Axis defenders by surprise

where it was. I saw an officer standing by a peasant's barn and asked him. He said, "It's here."

That afternoon watching lines of dust-covered men and vehicles moving past the lot I decided to use my thumb. The first lot I got was enough to stop hitchhiking for good. It was on a three-lane center and the landward lot who was driving a had not had his hands on the wheel for weeks and was going it the wheel. We tore along the road in a cloud of white dust and skidded around a corner just missing a grey stone wall and a cinema house.

I was hanging onto something that kept slipping. I said, "The next corner is where I stop. Let me off there. Thanks a lot."

Ross Murray of The Canadian Press, who was the only other correspondent besides myself with the Canadian assault troops, had landed on the beach in another craft and I did not see him the first day at all. I did not see him until the third day.

The second day when I decided to go to Pachino I got a ride in a truck to the town whose houses seemed to be crumbling away in the heat of the sun. There were a few decent buildings around the main square but the rest of it was a cluster of hovels. Most townspeople had fled. The townsfolk were as scared as Pachino. From a distance they all look the same—a grey patch usually on a steep hillside, shimmering in the blazing sunlight.

I found civil affairs in charge of an American lieutenant representing the Allied Military Government for Occupied Territory (AMGOT). Although the town had been taken by Canadian and British troops, the officers were in the main hotel which was about as pretentious as a cheap rooming house. The American was a tall earnest-looking young man who had been a college football star in New York. He was aptly fitted for the job as his parents were Sicilians and he could

speak the language fluently. He had an assistant, an American paratrooper whom he had found in Pachino and he was very worried that he would lose him. The paratrooper, who looked like a Rockwell Scout driving of an American soldier with long arms and legs, had been dropped in the wrong place and he would have to rejoin his unit when things got sorted out.

We went up to the lieutenant's bedroom. I thought, "This is like the distance change that happened in advance camps—this 35-year-old lieutenant who has come out of the sun to run this town of 20,000, and his assistant who has dropped out of the sky."

The lieutenant told me his chief problem was food. He said, "People here are starving. Really starving." He was very serious, very Canadian.

We had dinner in the fly-blown dining room of the hotel. We had three courses but the courses consisted of macaroni and cheese, sliced cucumbers and fried potatoes. "That was the best meal that the town had."

I stayed in Pachino that night and decided to reach the front the next day. I got a lift in a jeep with some of French boys. They were driving to Ispica and they were a bit jittery about it as they were not sure a had been taken. But Ispica had been captured by the Canadians alright. Although I could not understand how a had taken to them so easily as it was on top of a cliff. As a matter of fact the power installations of the city lived in a well-lit out of the cliff.

We arrived just as a Canadian AMGOT officer was talking over the town. I got a ride with a Canadian colonel who was going to drive down to Ispica. We were heading along at a good clip when I saw the last figure of Ross Murray standing by a stone wall. I shouted to the driver to stop.

Ross and our commanding officer, Captain Don MacLellan, walked



Machines with vision

Canadians are creating sophisticated robots

It's a typical working day. Alex Macdonald, a professor in the University of British Columbia's computer science department, thinks deeply about ways to give machines the ability to see. He also gets to play with top electronic toys. The game is played with two smooth tang. Sometimes the one that can make a smooth ball put the other at the winner. It may sound frivolous, but the underlying purpose of the game is to study vision. It is part of a three-stage scientific to develop robots with senses and intelligence.

In Macdonald's experiments, an overhead television camera acts as a vision system for the game, with a computer providing information on what the camera sees. Analysing the data, the cars shift from defensive to offensive modes of operation as they move around the tabletop playing field. Similar experiments are under way in robotics laboratories across Canada, as scientists in a wide range of disciplines explore ways of endowing machines with human capabilities.

The explosion of robotics research in Canada has developed in the past 10 years to the point where more than \$80 million is currently being spent on programs in university laboratories. The purpose of it all is to develop a distinctive high technology that will help Canada to survive in the post-industrial global economy.

It is a remarkable decade that, plus, backed by Canadian governments and private industry, appears to be working. A shining example is Spar's Advanced Technology Systems group just outside of Toronto, which has harvested a collective bag of national last week after the U.S. Army of Research and Development voted \$20 to \$25 to fund a sophisticated version of the operation. Freedom. When it begins operating in space in 2001, Freedom will carry a 57-foot long remote manipulator arm and a smaller robot called autonomous manipulator. The two robotic arms, both by Spar and a consortium of Canadian firms, will help the station to function in space. Says Ralf Doornik, director gen-



Computer simulation of Spar's space station equipment. Canadian expertise

erates, in turn, sponsored PROCESS Associates Inc., a similar private corporation backed by major Canadian industrial firms that is dedicated to research on robotics and intelligent systems—just as advanced computer or hard processors. Currently, PROCESS is channelling \$40 million into research in the field over a five-year period that ends in 1996. As well, PROCESS manages one of the programs launched in 1990 under the federal Network of Centres of Excellence initiative and is distributing \$20 million over a four-year period for research into robotics and intelligent systems.

The infusion of cash into robotics and related studies has put Canadian researchers

on a level playing field with their foreign counterparts. In the United States, funding for robotics research began "drying up" during the late 1980s," says David Miller, a robotics expert with the Matt Corporation, a federally funded research centre in McLean, Va. "Now Canadian scientists seem to be getting the money. There is a lot of interesting work being done in Canada."

The surge of activity in Canadian laboratories comes from work on computer-controlled systems designed to cope with emergencies in nuclear power plants to research into ways of using robotics to help physically handicapped children. Much of the work centres on robot vision. Alex Jopson, a University of Toronto professor of computer science, is working with other scientists to develop a vision system that would enable a robot to enter and work in areas where there are high radiation levels or other hazardous conditions. The robot is being designed for the publicly owned power utility Ontario Hydro, which operates a network of nuclear reactors. The prototype is a space-themed



James Macdonald, director of Spar's space station program, with working model of manipulator; showing example

vision system. One problem with technology like Jopson's is that, inevitably, the robot has to guess while its computer compares images of the external world with the ones in its memory. At the University of British Columbia, James Little, an associate professor of computer science, is trying to perfect a vision system that would operate almost as rapidly as a human's by processing 180 and lost pieces of visual information per second in a powerful Datacube parallel processing computer. Little is addressing another tricky problem in robot vision. Using a robot head mounted on a table, he is trying to formulate an algorithm (in type of decision processing) that would allow the robot to turn its head to follow a moving object—and distinguish between an own motion and that of the object or a tracking.

In Montreal, McGill University scientists are working on a vision system that is modelled on the operation of the human eye. According to Martin Levine, a professor of electrical engineering and director of McGill's Research Centre for Intelligent Machines, the human eye takes in a wealth of data from the area that it is focusing on, but filters out much of what it sees on either side. The reason for this, says Levine, is to compress information because the eye filters out much of the peripheral data, that study reduces the amount of data that the brain has to process. Now Levine's task is trying to develop a set of computer eyes that will behave in the same way. As well, scientists have found that the human eye tends to focus on symmetrical objects, such as circles or human bodies. Says Levine: "We're looking to see if we can use that as a way of

helping a robot to find and track objects."

As well as vision, Canadian robot scientists are also tackling such areas as balance and touch. At the University of British Columbia, Daniel Phin, an industrial computer scientist, is developing an unusual robot shaped like a tetrahedron, a solid form with four triangular surfaces. With a leg at each of the tetrahedron's four points, the robot is designed to operate in uneven terrain, even if it isn't a handle, the robot would always land with three legs on the ground. At Spar's University in Kingston, Ont., experimental psychologist Susan Lockman is helping engineers in an attempt to design a robot with a sense of touch.

And in McGill, Ian Hunter, a New Zealand-born associate professor of biomedical engineering, is mostly carving out a major research in the field of micro-robotics. To study the behaviour of muscle cells, Hunter during the 1980s began developing an instrument with quartz arms so thin at the end they cannot be seen by the naked eye. Using the instrument through a computer-controlled system, says Hunter, "we felt the contraction of a single cell for the first time." More recently, with the help of a \$1.5-million grant from Marzetta Inc., a Montreal-based research and development company, Hunter put some of the same principles to work in developing a high precision instrument for eye surgery that can make movements as small as one one-hundredth the diameter of a human hair.

Canada's push to develop superior expertise in robotics and intelligent systems has begun to pay off commercially. At Spar Aerospace, technology developed for the U.S. space program has been used in such earth-

board applications as remote handling systems for servicing nuclear reactors. As well, university robotics programs have helped to spawn companies that put robotic technology to practical use. According to Levine, McGill's robotics program has played a part in the establishment of at least five local companies, including Mogen Automation Inc., which manufactures vision systems for industrial use.

Still, some scientists say that corporations are often slow to recognize the value of advanced robotics. Peter Lawrence, a professor of electrical engineering at the University of British Columbia, completed development last year of a device that allows operators to manipulate the working parts of heavy construction or logging equipment through a single hand control. The patented device, called a Coordinated Control System, would replace the clumsy controls currently used on excavators and give the operator a more direct "feel" for the equipment he is using. So far, says Lawrence, heavy equipment companies have not shown much interest in his device, perhaps because of the costs involved.

That could change. Experts say that there is usually a lag time of five years or more before new technology makes its way into the marketplace. Given that, a map may be long before Lawrence's ingenious control, Alex Macdonald's experiments with computer vision for eye care and other Canadian developments begin finding applications in a world where robotics seems certain to play an ever-increasing role.

MARK NICHOLS

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SPORTS

The swing's the thing

Receding in the distance, Toronto Blue Jays outfielder Joe Carter watches in amazement as reporters surround the season's current hitting phenom, John Olerud. It is a veteran's job to make sure that 26-year-old first basemen with .400 batting average do not get swarmed heads. The face a broad smile of feigned exasperation, Carter, 30, drags a outfielder across his forehead and mounts a litany of Olerud faults. "Oly plays home go!" he begins fervently. "Down the middle, on the ground in the hole. He bats." Then, there are the clubhouse brother games that put Carter and Olerud against disgraced hitter Paul Mallico and third baseman Ed Sprague. "Oly doesn't understand hitting," Carter believes. As for baseball, Carter chooses to ignore the fact that Olerud has been leading the American League in hitting averages, hits, on-base percentage, slugging percentage and doubles. "It's still a kid, still learning the game," he scoffs. Then, again for a moment, he adds, "Okay, yeah."

Scary to American League pitchers, certainly, but it is difficult to imagine anyone else laughing through those old-fashioned John Olerud. This is a guy who has been lauded to say "Doh!" Recently, lamenting the technology buildup of modern baseball, the polite and soft-spoken native of Bellevue, Wash., lapses along in blackboard-whisper as an American, he fans a great impression of a Canadian. Olerud seems unaffected by baseball's current struggles with blearing over and self-indulgent as persons, just as he seems unimpressed by his own sporting debts. Unlike Barry Bonds, the prolific but petulant San Francisco slapper whose selfish demeanor and \$43-million contract contribute negatively to the cynicism that surrounds the game, Olerud obliges fans and reporters, stooping deferentially into his seat, few quick words to sign autographs and answer questions. Seize an unassuming for Olerud, trying to explain his normal hitting pace is like trying to summarize the meaning of life. But he tries. "Hitting is sure at the will of it," he says. "You don't really think about hitting, you decide you want to go over

there and your body starts moving and it's done."

In his own defense, Olerud has always moved at the direction of baseball. He was drafted by the New York Mets as a pitcher following his senior high-school year in the Seattle suburb of Bellevue, but asked to attend his family's alma mater, Washington State University (WSU) in Pullman. His father once starred for the Cougars as a catcher; his younger sister, Erica, just completed her degree there. Far all of his pitching proficiency—as a sophomore in 1989, he finished with a record of 35 wins and 10 losses—what major-league scouts coveted was his swing. That same season, he hit .404 with 25 home runs, completed a 23-game hitting streak and was named National Collegiate Athletic Association player of the year by *Baseball America* magazine.

But on Jan. 21, 1990, while working out at the WSU field house, Olerud twisted. A battery of tests revealed an aneurysm lodged near the base of his brain, that could easily have killed him had it not been surgically removed. Now, the only event reminiscent of the experience is the hard-shelled batting helmet he wears away while in the field. But he says that his brush with death has helped him cope with the problems associated with his new celebrity. "When it happened, I was 30 and had always had good health," he says. "I wasn't one of those dandruff guys, doing stupid things and making my life. So the thought of dying really put things in perspective. It made me want to take advantage of my opportunities and have fun with things."

While some teams were reluctant to take a chance on Olerud's recovery, the Jays selected him in the third round of the June, 1990, draft. "I didn't think I would sign because I still wasn't really healthy," Olerud recalls. "But the Blue Jays gave me the opportunity to go straight to the big leagues and be part of a pennant race. It was just an up-



Olerud shows his focus: "the thought of dying really put things in perspective."

portunity that I couldn't pass up." He became only the 19th player since 1965 to begin his professional career in the majors, and promptly hit a single in his first major-league at-bat. The progress was, as Olerud with the player, slow but sure. Playing in the big leagues was "pretty much what I expected," he says. But surviving the big leagues, he was not. "Your system gets out of order a little. I just didn't realize that the travel and schedule were so demanding."

Now, it doesn't seem so scary about Olerud, it is his potential to get better still. Toronto batting coach Larry Hulse says that any one of a number of Olerud attributes would make someone a good father. But his star pupil has them all: a great eye, the discipline to stay away from parties outside the strike zone, diligence, an analytical mind—and the swing with the lowest moving parts in baseball, an effortless smooth that routinely drives balls to the outfield wall. That is why he leads the majors in doubles—or, according to teammates who talk him about his slowness about, short trips. "One of the keys to John's success this season is his own defense," Hulse says. "With John, there is no doubt—if he makes a pitch, he knows that he will get it most times."

But an expectation is his temperance. The odds are surely against his finishing the season at .400—an eye test that has not been achieved since Ted Williams hit .406 in 1941. Three years, he just might. "If there was ever a guy to hit .400, it'd be Johnny O," Carter says, noting his even disposition to make how many hits he gets in a game. "The Oleruds don't bother him any more than the fans. He doesn't change." Opposing pitchers agree. Boston reliever Roger Clemens, who can outlast even the best of hitters, can

pleased that when he brushes Olerud back with a high-and-quick fastball, big John steps back into the batter's box as if nothing had happened. Kevin Tapanin, the Minnesota Twins' right hander, also tried to pitch Olerud inside. "You might get him out a couple of times," Tapanin said. "But if you throw the same pitch in the same place, he hits it out of the park, or doubles."

Olerud attributes some of his on-field success this year to changes in his off-field life. He started his high school sweetheart, Kelly Plunkett, last winter. They bought a house alongside a private-club-captained golf course in Phoenix, Ariz., as soon as they live in a new town. Toronto apartment, and he works in support of a charitable organization called the Christian Children's Fund. Their restaurant tastes tend to Italian and Chinese. "We load of like to spend time by ourselves, nighttime and going out to dinner," he says. Marriage and big-league experience, he adds, have made him more outgoing. "When I came up, I didn't say anything," he says. "Now I'm more social." The difference is lost on Carter. "Maybe he's a little more outgoing," jokes Carter, who knows about talking, "but that's like going from zero to one."

Will a success split John Olerud? "I don't know how John's year will end up," says someone Mallico, "but I don't think he's the kind of guy who will let any of this affect him. John is John." Olerud himself seems puzzled by the question. "I don't think I'm any different just because I'm doing well in baseball," he says. "Baseball is just something that I do every season or so, and I feel very fortunate to be able to do something that I love doing."

Good

JAMES BRANTON

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A mouse who roars, runs and shoots

BY TRENT FRAYNE

When Darrell (Mouse) Davis joined the Toronto Argonauts in 1992 as an offensive coach, who knew what Mouse was up to? Watching the attack this year had convinced for that era's critics Argos was like setting people off in a burning building.

With the snap of the ball, receivers snared in full direction and so did the quarter back. Sometimes as many as half a dozen guys would take off down the field, crisscrossing or alternating along like Olympic sprinters. Their routes were often determined by how the defenders reacted in their names. Meanwhile the quarterbacks were expected to read the same signals and put the ball where a sprinting teammate was headed.

That fall, for the first time since hockey began in the 19th century could remember, the Argos made it to the Grey Cup game, looking in a good effort to the first (back then) Toronto Eskimos. The next year Mouse left Toronto for the United States Football League, leaving behind his system. That was the November the sun rose in the west, guys moved south in the South and the Argos won the Grey Cup. McFarquhar got like the days of Joe Kroll and Bruce Copeland.

And now, here it is 1993 and the newly installed offensive co-ordinator for the Argonauts is a pudgy fellow with merry grey eyes and a familiar mustache—Darrell (Mouse) Davis, sometimes referred to in the newspapers as "the father of the run-and-shoot."

Mouse can take the description or leave it alone, although he does say with a certain pique, "I'm the father, there's a bunch of granddaddies out there." He doesn't net 100 per cent of the credit for this wacky attack, though he has funded it with the New York/New Jersey Knights at the recently held-up World League of American Football, the Detroit Lions at the National Football League, the Denver Gold of the U.S. Football League, the same league's Houston Gamblers, the University of California at Berkeley,

With Mouse Davis back with the Argos, fans of the CFL will get wide-open football as a lure for their bucks

Portland State and mucky high-school teams he coached in the Pacific Northwest, where he was born and brought up.

When Mouse talks of the run-and-shoot, his favorite word is "isolated" and he involves the names of several coaches who have provided refinements in the system's development. "What we're doing here now with the Argos evolved from what we've done in the past. Along the way I made runs guys and guys stole from me. I stole from Tiger Ellison in Middletown, Ohio, who wrote a book, *Run and Shoot*, and I stole from Dutch Meyer, who used a double wing at TCU [Texas Christian University] and I stole from Jimmie Dobbie at Tulsa. Oh, I know, this offense put a great evolution, various guys doing things with it that suit their purpose."

The reason Mouse and his version have returned to the Canadian Football League is that the Argonauts endured a terrible year in 1992. Following a great flurry of excitement led a Grey Cup victory in 1991 when the California entrepreneur Bruce McCall bought the team and issued Wayne Gretzky and John Candy as part owners at \$8 million each, the team died from first to worst last season. Halfway through, the coach who'd in-

spired the 1991 triumph, a warm, friendly guy named Adam Katz, was shorn of his job and replaced by an equally warm and earnest defensive specialist, Dennis Meyer. Davis had joined the Argos the same year. Mouse Davis served his first term 13 years ago, a difference being that Davis, who is now 45, never left.

When the 1992 season closed with the Argonauts finally enshrined in last place in their division, it was evident that their offense needed an overhaul. They had scored fewer points than any CFL team (48), a total that was a full 138 points back of the eye-balling Grey Cup champion Calgary Stampeders (186) in part to the generosity of their general manager, Mike McCarthy, who allowed the all-purpose Grey Cup quarterback, Matt Dunigan, to drift off to the Winnipeg Blue Bombers over a salary dispute.

Considering ways to restore the offense, Meyer reflected back to the 1982 days when he and Mouse had sat side by side as the son's coach for the Argonauts. He recalls being slightly impressed by Mouse's strategy. Accordingly, as a defensive specialist, Davis turned to Mouse for recommendations for an offensive co-ordinator.

"Mouse is probably the best teacher I've ever seen," Davis says. "He understands every corner of offense. The more I talked to him the more I thought he'd be doing for this job. Suddenly, I realized that World League had failed, so I said to him, 'Hey, Mouse, how about you?' and he came."

Davis says he likes the run-and-shoot because "it's the one offense that totally rewards the field." That means fans at the financially troubled CFL—and especially in Toronto where the building SkyDome presents \$100,000-plus parking fees—will have wide-open football as a lure for their bucks. Mouse recognizes the challenge. "Yeah, I could sit there, Dennis called that he wanted to do the run-and-shoot, and I said, 'Well, I want the offense to be.' He laughs shortly. "I won't be getting screwed up by a lot of restrictions."

Like most football coaches, Mouse has had a peripatetic existence. He has, by the way, been called Mouse since childhood. He was smaller than his siblings so his father sometimes said he was like a little dumpling. Then one day, playing baseball, he took a throw from his brother Don, the catcher, and dropped the ball. "Nice hands, Mouse!" chuckled his brother, and it stuck.

Argos' head coach had contacted Mouse and his wife, Beverly, since their four children had to be added in numerous parts of the land. Mouse will be 41 in September and this time, coming back to Toronto, Beverly provided an inevitable rhetorical question, "Do we really need to make one more trip?"

Actually, no. Along the way Mouse says he made out estate inventories that contained less than 100 items and also, that he made a lot of money coaching at the pro level. Unlike most assistant coaches, Mouse doesn't have to coach to eat. All he has to do is build an offense that will put trophies into those 10,000 seats in the SkyDome.

PEOPLE



THE ODD COUPLE

During Lyle Lovett's concert in Toronto on June 24, an onlooker handed the country-jazz singer a cellular phone. Lovett, 35, then laughingly told his audience that he was calling his girlfriend. And three days later, they turned up just who the mystery women was. A spokesman for the singer announced that Lovett and actress Julia Roberts, 25, had been married at a small ceremony on June 27 before a concert in Hobokenville, Ind. The marriage of the soloists Lovett, and the beautiful, hot Rocky, Roberts has been married before, but Roberts has been romantically involved with a number of young actors, including Kiefer Sutherland, whom she planned to marry in Hollywood two years ago—but fled just hours before the wedding with actor Jason Patric. Lovett and Roberts met on the set of *The Player* in 1992. Their marriage took place during a break in the shooting of John Grisham's film *The Pelican Brief*, Roberts' first movie in two years. While neither performer was talking, Lovett, who often writes songs about his love, appears to be smitten. "Lyle's extremely excited," said Lovett's manager, Ken Levitan. "He could not be happier."



Speaking up for love

Marlene Williams has become known as the "Guru of the Classics." *Class, Sacred Words and Rhythms: Arguments* have all been completed by her message. In fact, the 40-year-old former cabaret singer from Texas has become a celebrity in her own right by expounding on A Course of Miracles—a New Age hermetic philosophy that argues people in death on love, not love. She has written two bestselling books on the subject. The first, *A Return to Love*, which was published in 1990, spent 30 weeks at the top of *The New York Times* bestseller list, and her second, *A Woman's Work*, has been there virtually since its publication in May. Her books say that she is not merely a spiritual philosopher for an audience that wants a new spiritual message—but not one wrapped in a strict moral code. However, she is unworried by such arguments. Said Williams, "Love exists and nothing else."



NORTHERN MYSTERIES

In their book *Dead Silence*, Los Angeles-based writers Beattie and historian John Gager recount their efforts to solve one of the nation's oldest mysteries: the disappearance of explorer James Knight with two ships and 40 crew, while searching for the Northwest Passage in 1791. On Marble Island in British Isles, where tradition holds that Knight died, they found the shipwreck evidence that at least some men escaped to the mainland, only to perish there. "You have ideas of what you're going to find when you start," and Beattie. "That's the nature of mysteries is that it never follows that line." The two authors might be getting used to mysteries. Their 1984/1986 investigation of the Franklin expedition of 1845 uncovered the well-preserved bodies of three men on Beechey Island, N.W.T. In turn, the U.S. island of Foully Island was reported that one of the Franklin sailors sat up and spoke to the researchers. So did he? Laughed Beattie. "Just kidding."

Heart and soul

With the release last month of her second album, *Miss My Love*, the Toronto-based rhythm-and-blues singer Sherry Joacocks says that she isaching to tour again. Joacocks, 35, whose first album, *Woman's Work*, dealt with the challenges of raising a family while having a career, says that her latest album deals more with those traditional blues themes of lost love and life. More important-



ly, said Joacocks: "It reflects growth in me as a singer and a songwriter." She also teamed up with Canadian songwriter Max Meridian. He originally penned the song *I Miss My Love* for his current album, but Joacocks liked it so much that she is also using it. And she added that she is confident that the material sold will be well received. "Even though it may sound corny," said Joacocks. "I really put my heart and soul into this and that's a great feeling."

Wheels of fortune

Ontario gambles on a casino in Windsor

For Ken Chu, the flinty-haired man who owns City Club, the month-old restaurant is a sign of things to come. It has to be, she says, because her family has already gambled down previously in Windsor. Four years ago, they bought a two-story commercial building, the city's only hotel and casino—just before the recession hit. Within a year, she says, they were putting up and shoring up the city of 180,000, which sits across the river from the sprawling U.S. metropolis of Detroit. Some chose to move to Windsor's suburbs, where an increase in jobs and people there have helped that part of the city to start bouncing back. But by last Christmas, the town that had retired again in Chu's building for more than 30 years closed—another victim of cross-border shopping and high unemployment. Chu has laid off and laid off and is operating a variety store in the building's other retail space and lives in apartments upstairs. Now, with the Ontario government looking to open the province's first casino in Windsor, Chu is looking for his new restaurant's name to express her confidence that the project will succeed. Said Chu: "The casino is going to save this city."

His attitude is shared by many politicians across Canada, who are looking to gambling as a sure bet for money, revenues and creating jobs. Quebec's first casino is due to open in Montreal in October, aspired by the success of the country's first permanent, for-profit casino, which opened in Windsor in 1989. In Ontario, the 1994 powers were announced as cautious to legitimize casinos as in 2002, but at the same time municipalities eagerly submitted bids to set up casinos. The province chose Windsor last fall for the pilot project. Last week, the cabinet approved a downtown site for an interim casino—as the Art Gallery at Windsor—and it could open its doors by the end of the year. But it is still not a sure thing. The enabling legislation has not yet passed the provincial legislature, where an NDP member has resigned from the caucus in protest. And a backdoor appears to be going into effect in Windsor, where opponents claim that a casino would at-

tract crime and other social ills in the city.

To the dismay of some local residents, the Windsor project from the start has remained under the control of the Ontario Casino Project, a planning team set up last summer by the provincial Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations. Its head, Dennis Allen, a senior and former, said that the project went to Windsor because "they had a well-planned proposal and the full support of their city council." Over the next few months, Allen's 20-member team will weigh submissions from the nine groups in consultation to build and run the casino. They include the large American Embassy Casino Hotels operation, Texas player Jimmy Conner's Windsor Arroyo Casino Group, and an Ontario Jockey Club partnership.

The casino's proponents say that it will create more than 2,500 direct jobs and attract

25,000 visitors each day to Canada's westernmost capital. But its opponents counter that, besides the social problems associated with gambling operations, Windsor may get the can of worms it didn't want. They note that, after the up major deducts its take, the province will receive the net profits and a 30 percent tax on gross revenues—in all, an estimated \$140 million each year. Said Mayor Michael Bryant: "We should get a bigger chunk of the profits." And while a government poll looked to the press in February shows 51 support for the casino in Windsor, its opponents are raising their voices. Said Anna Kozak, a LaSalle councillor who is coordinating a campaign to stop the casino: "Nobody said it was easy."

Public anger is also a concern of Dennis Desroville, the central Ontario NDP who quit the NDP caucus last fall in opposition to casinos. "When did people get a say in all this?" asked Desroville, who said party leaders did not even consult the caucus before approving the casino project. "We have reversed years of opposing gambling," he said, adding that the social costs will be too high. Still, Desroville acknowledges that opposition remains fragmented.

Ironically, while the province chose Windsor as a games pig for an attraction to draw thousands of tourists, it has also launched a pilot project there to merge and trim the city's four hospitals. Among other things, it would cut the number of emergency rooms and acute care beds. For Anna North, a neurosurgeon in the city's Hotel Dieu hospital, the contradictions are stunning. She says that increased traffic, drinking and partying from casino visitors will not lessen the city's understanding of the project for the hospital care. Said North: "It's sure to impact the impact."

But by all official opposition, the casino concept is already a decision in Windsor. City Council has set aside a 33-acre municipal site, several blocks from the art gallery, for a permanent site for the casino. And it looks about the zoning restrictions in a promotion package that excludes "any thing in Windsor." Many residents are enthusiastically embracing a litany of features of the proposed casino, including the fact that its 25,000 square feet of gaming area—blackjack, roulette, baccarat and slot machines—will rest on 11 acres, and 4 acres during the work and around the clock on weekends. The city's 58 City College is already offering a diploma course for blackjack dealers. Said Dan Naud, an unemployed 18-year-old: "Once the casino opens, there will be a lot more jobs."

But behind the scenes, even participants in the project are complaining about the project's methods. At a meeting of operators called at the site of a 600,000 application fee, they learned the scores, even participants in the project are complaining about the project's methods. At a meeting of operators called at the site of a 600,000 application fee,



Dealers at Winnipeg casinos offer provincials are following Manitoba's example

none of which will be included to applicants that make a short list to be considered later this summer. Others dropped out, complaining that they were not enough time to prepare an electronic application by last week's deadline. "There is no time to design a winning proposal," said Len Krack, vice-president of planning for Mississippi-based Casino Magic, which withdrew from the process in late June. Some had week guard forces with a Canadian bid by Trillium Partnership, which had spent a year in preparing a proposal. Even so, of the leading contenders, Harrah's, expanded similar operations. Said Windsor Mayor Michael Bryant, the Tennessee-based firm's vice-president of planning development: "The fee is a little steep." Concluded Allen: "We want to make sure that they are serious."

Even when the casino is operating, it will face some daunting obstacles, including a Criminal Code ban on games involving dice—referring to the fact that the gambling companies that are popular in casinos elsewhere will not be a part of the Windsor plan. There

is also a serious threat of competition emerging directly across the river in Detroit, where residents narrowly defeated a referendum in support of casinos last month. A casino there could seriously affect projections that Americans will make up more than 80 per cent of gamblers in Windsor. Said Jack Berg, press secretary for Detroit Mayor Coleman A. Young: "We must come—it's just a matter of time."

Adding to the uncertainty is Ontario legislation that would permit drinking only outside gaming areas. For patrons accustomed to live drinks while gambling in Nevada or Atlantic City, that could be quite an adjustment. Still, said Marilyn Churley, Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations: "I don't think people go to drink at a table."

Some Windsor residents disagree, and fear that the drinking ban will scare Americans away. "Why would people come here?" asked Windsor city councillor Don Finn, a Las Vegas veteran who insists that tourists will expect free drinks and that it's becoming a real

bad money operation." But in Winnipeg, police credit an alcohol-free atmosphere in that city's casino with helping to keep the criminal element away. "This would be people go themselves," said Staff Sgt. Ross McCorville.

With the exception of the invited new jobs and influx of tourists, Windsor residents are unclear about what to expect from casino gambling. The findings of a survey of the projected impact on crime that Windsor police chief James Allard prepared in February have not been released. Allard, the provincial team leader, is working with police to set up a planning commission to regulate procedures for handling crime and managing games. Said Allard, who insists that Windsor can escape the sordid side of gambling seen along U.S. casino strips: "We are not going to have that kind of glitz." For his part, Mayor Bryant admitted to being taken aback by the poverty and crime rates in Atlantic City, the U.S.'s first coast-to-coast casino, when he visited there in March. But Bryant said that from his trip, "we learned what not to do." There, while the gambling establishments have profited, other areas of the city have decayed. Windsor will have the chosen developer to "compensate and not compete with" businesses in the surrounding community, he says.

But the casino's critics also note that if a bid is presented on a basis to the city at a time when Windsor appears to be bouncing back from the recession without its help. The Big Three stakeholders are projecting their best sales in several years and other employers are moving into the region.

The downtown may simply be doing, say some, because the suburbs are booming. Even Atlantic City casino operator Donald Trump, who decided last week against asking to be a partner in Windsor, warned local people to think twice about the casino plan. Said Trump in a television interview: "Most predictions have expected a boom that does bring a lot of problems."

Many residents, too, remain skeptical about the casino's predicted economic upswing. "Gamblers are not known as heavy-duty shoppers," said Greg Looz, who manages a gaming products store at Devonshire Mall, a suburban shopping center which was one of three projects chosen for the interim casino. And while the city is excited at the prospect of an influx of visitors to a casino just four blocks from her restaurant, she plans to stay away from the gaming industry. "It might be bad at first," she said, "but you can't win at gambling." So far, the city of Windsor and the government of Ontario are letting their eyes.

DAVID BRADY in Windsor



Chu with son, Robert: "The casino will save this city"



TELEVISION

Blood on the beaches

A mini-series revisits a wartime disaster

Even squinting, the Canadian major doctors were the odds of the landing craft, then shoots to his troops "100 yards! 50 yards! 25 yards!" shouting, the young ones back on their own rates and nervously prepare their weapons for what lies ahead. It is a stunning evocation of the Second World War, with actors playing the soldiers and the shores of Oran's Bay of Quatre Douglon for the French coastline. The 35-million, four-hour CBC mini-series *Dieppe*, scheduled to air next January, will be the first drama to recreate the horrors of August 19, 1942. On that day, the 6,000-strong strike force (mostly Canadians, along with about 1,000 British troops and 50 American) was squashed by German defences on the French coastal towns of Dieppe, Pys and Poesville. With 3,367 Canadians killed, wounded or captured, the landings, known collectively as the Dieppe raid, stand as Canada's worst single military defeat. Said executive producer Bernard Zakaria, one of the country's top creators of television drama: "The casting premises need to know the history of this country, and Dieppe was a real tragedy—Canada's Gallipoli."

In what Zakaria describes as an Operation, Generals order, Dieppe focuses on two characters involved in the raid: the top military and political officials who planned the attack, and a fictional group of five soldiers who bond during training, then go ashore to face

a wanted and waiting enemy. Acclaimed director John N. Smith (*The Boys of St. Vliet*) and an all-Canadian cast began filming on May 17. The locations have included Sauble Beach, on Lake Huron, and the Bay of Quinte near the town of Pictou, in Eastern Ontario. The last place of shooting is to take place in Japan in Sauble Beach.

With debate still swirling over who deserves blame for the cross-Channel raid, the producers have chosen Oran's Bay as the site of the controversial 1942 assault. *Dieppe* is a drama, to use the historical background. The book plans responsibility for the disaster on British Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, who was in overall command of the operation. Screenwriter John Krass and a team of researchers spent a year studying diaries and documents. That helped Krass develop dialogue for historical figures like the amoral Mountbatten (played by Broadway sideman Walter Gotlib, a minor at Toronto) and British prime minister Winston Churchill (W.B. Tyler), as well as Canadian generals Harry Corner (Gordon White) and Hamilton (Ham) Roberts (Garry Rowley)—a man every fan wrongly took for the blame for failure. Researchers also scoured hundreds of letters mailed home to Canada by survivors. Krass, a playwright best known for the musical *100 Years*, says that the correspondence made him feel as "the full story of Dieppe is a visceral one

Seven from Dieppe: Canada's worst single military defeat

And to really engage people dramatically, you have to tell the personal stories. We wanted to make history come alive for a new generation."

Zakaria, meanwhile, is openly confident that Dieppe will avoid the sort of hostility stirred up among veterans by the CBC's *Second World War* documentary *The Value and the Honor*. After the six-hour special aired last year, veterans complained that it distorted the facts and wrongly attacked the Allied command. Zakaria feels that much of the criticism of *The Value and the Honor* was unjust. Added the executive producer, whose successes include *Law and Heat*, *The Story of John and John's Theater* and *Conspiracy of Silence* (about the murder of Manitoba native Betty Osborne): "The fact that we are doing a historical story and isolating a very specific event makes our job easier. The research has been meticulous. I don't foresee the same kind of issue."

In fact, the Dieppe Veterans and POW Association strongly supports the mini-series. And Harold Best, the 72-year-old president of the association, says that while he was disappointed by *The Value and the Honor*, he has few worries about Dieppe. Noted Best, who landed at Pys when he was 11: "We give them some insight on how to try and keep it as legitimate as possible. But you must remember it is drama rather than documentary."

An important aspect of creating the drama is that in making the sets look authentic in Toronto, the producers built an intricate replica of the Allied Combined Operations House. To reproduce the rocky beach at Pys, scenes were built onto the location at the Bay of Quinte. And because the real beach at Pys on the coast of Prince's Beach sits beneath cliffs while the beach on the Bay of Quinte is surrounded by flat terrain, the filmmakers used several blue-screen techniques—glued movable blue screens which allow the landing—air jettisoning—of two separate screens. Meanwhile, explosives experts, some in living suits, created the illusion of the storm of mortar and machine-gun fire rained down on the Canadian 50 years ago.

All that striving for authenticity is bearing its cost. The cost of *Dieppe* doesn't seem to be in front of the Canadian people the way Ben Jess and Reed Barber are: "he said: 'That hurts. We've been overpaying for years to get Canadians to think about what happened to their countrymen. They all can learn that war is not anything that has any glory to it.' The producers of Dieppe hope to make it a truly an inside part of the national memory."

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An unpalatable menu for voters

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There are—in the more stable corners of the world—society's collieries in scandals. We are not talking Canada here, or Bosnia, Japan, or recently the dreary economy that would shame us all, it is needed to be exposed with political corruption at the top.

In Italy, there are now 1,200 of the most important businessmen and politicians among appointments with the sinister after-champs of bribery and kickbacks. In Britain, Justice Minister Ian Gifford is accused of leading the Conservative campaign office, while the Tories of the doctored John Major—Kenneth Clarke to be PM by Christmas—insist that the 14 life peers and 52 lords should give to individuals since 1979 had nothing to do, of course, with the embarrassing truth that their firms caught up some \$22 billion in donations over the same period.

There is, in a different way, a scandal in Canada. It is, in my opinion, an example in the fall, the collapse of candidates offered us at the general election who will take us into the next century. It is depressing to contemplate what is on the plate.

There is supposedly the theory that the elites of the country can pick out, over time, the best and the brightest for the most useful voters to consider.

This time? What have we got? If the polls are correct, our next prime minister will be a man who cannot master either of the two official languages. History tells us that it is extremely hard to elect a PM who is not from Quebec, for the simple reason that there is no other language. Black at voters in Canada who vote as a bloc, as a tribal expression, for the candidate who comes from that province.

The 1,017 Conservative delegates who thrust Kim Campbell upon the other 27 million Canadians have probably assumed that Jean Chretien, whose best years are long past him, will be prime minister in the fall.

Do Canadians really, with all his language skills, want him representing this country before Bill Clinton or the United Nations? It's unlikely.



The alternative? Denying voters are faced with a very real choice: women who can't seem to figure out where she is coming from or where she wants to go—made from up. With the speed of a lightning bolt, she has from political science to a parent of a graduate degree never completed in three times in three countries to lecture at a university and then a community college. Is law school in attempting a Social Credit vote, to a law firm, from marriage to marriage, to the B.C. premier's office, to seeking the Borel leadership without holding a seat, to the B.C. legislature eventually, then joining to the Conservatives and Ottawa and Toronto. This lady has ambition: has she any substance beyond it?

There is the defenceless Audrey McLaughlin, a party leader only because the male leaders in the NDP caucus were determined to beat the two older parties to having the first female leader.

In this case, not professed on, there is Lucien Boissonard of the Blue Quebecers, a close friend of Brian Mulroney, who was rewarded by being placed from obscurity and made ambassador to France and then allowed into the cabinet, and responded by fleeing away in an attempt to start a party dedicated to destroying Canada. As Bob Rae once said about Pierre Trudeau, this guy makes Justin Trudean look like a teen player.

Off in Alberta is Boissonard's rival as a separatist, Patrick Monaghan, who thinks Canadians can take him seriously while at the top of the cabinet while pretending that Quebec does not exist. He fails as the constitutional contradictions that obsessed him have the exhausted voters.

As for marginal parties slip in the headlines, we are left with the unpalatable choice between Christian and Campbell.


The former, who embarrasses Quebecers with his French and mistakes the West of Canada with his English, for all his years in Ottawa and all his portfolios, has never really established himself with a credible philosophy, a vision of the country other than that he thinks the Rocky Mountains are good.

In the first post-mortem back on Campbell, author Murray Dobbin says that there is one theme that runs through her political career. "The contrast between what she says and what she does." She was named inclusion in a 1991 Reader's Digest cabinet because of her pre-election issues, race, in Ottawa, as justice minister, she tried to get abortion back in the Criminal Code.

A proponent of gun control, she gave us in rural Terry McInnis and left him the message: 14 families in Montreal. At the same time, a Calgary Conservative MP, announced "Campbell wants to be prime minister and this is as far as she can go." This was in 1991, not 1993.

The voters, waiting until after Labor Day for all the education and denial and change and compromise, have every reason to be depressed while they give their minds a rest over the summer. There is not much to pick over yesterday's man, who is trying to jump himself up into the charmer who can never repeat, as the now nervous Prime Minister, who has been captured by the cynical jokers of the "tory" factory firm who have sentenced her bloodline—millions.

A final choice for the election date—called when summer ends—is Monday, Nov. 1. The day after Halloween. Which would be appropriate.




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